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CONQUERED TERRITORY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

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WHEN we look back to the Hellenic world in which the science of politics was born, we there find the dominant political idea embodied in the independent city-state, which stood towards all others of its class as a sovereign commonwealth, regulating its internal affairs through its own domestic constitution. To the Greek mind the state, as the city-commonwealth, was an organized society of men dwelling in a walled city, with a surrounding territory not too large to permit its free inhabitants habitually to assemble within the limits of the city to discharge the duties of citizens. When a conquering city extended its dominion by reducing other self-governing cities to the condition of dependent allies, such allies were often permitted to enjoy local autonomy under their own constitutions, without the right to participate in any way in the political affairs of the ruling state by whose assembly the foreign relations of the alliance, if alliance it may be called, were absolutely controlled. The most favored members of the Athenian Alliance or Empire, even Chios or Mitylene, could not have a voice in the general direction of the Confederacy, for the simple reason that Greek exclusiveness rejected to the last the

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idea of a fusion of any large number of cities into a single body with equal rights common to all. As the state was the city, those who went out of the city went out of the state. Therefore, according to Greek ideas, the effect of an emigration for the formation of a new settlement was an absolute political severance from the mother state, which retained no more substantial hold upon its colonies than the sentimental tie arising out of community of blood and speech and common religious rights.

Upon the soil of Italy a group of village communities grew into a single vast and independent city-state that centralized within its walls the political power of the world. Rome accomplished that marvellous result by departing from the exclusive policy of the Greek cities, which persistently refused to incorporate dependent cities by extending to them their own franchise. As it was beneath the dignity of the sovereign city to confederate with her dependents, and as the expedient of representation was then unknown, Rome entered upon a policy of incorporation, carried out by the extension of her franchise first to Italy, then to Gaul and Spain, and finally to the whole Roman world. In the end, a right so widely bestowed became, of course, utterly worthless; but the theory upon which the right was conferred was never for a moment lost sight of. The freeman who received the franchise of the Roman city could only exercise it within her own walls; it was only within the local limits of the ruling city that the supreme powers of the state could be exercised. As to the dependent and peculiar local organization known as *colonia,* it is only necessary to say that it was in the main simply a contrivance for the purpose of garrisoning conquered territory without the expense of maintaining an army in it.

The modern conception of the state as a nation, occupying a definite portion of the earth's surface with fixed geographical boundaries—the state as known to modern international law—was the outcome of the "process of feudalization" through which the Teutonic nations passed, after their settlements within the limits of the Roman Empire. The kings of the states that arose out of the wreck of the Empire of Charles the Great were kings in the new territorial sense, who stood to the lands over which they ruled as a baron to his estate, a tenant to his freehold. The form assumed by the monarchy in France was reproduced in each subsequent dominion established or consolidated, and

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thus has arisen the state-system of modern Europe, in which the idea of territorial sovereignty is the basis of all international relations. When the time came for states of the new type to send out bands of emigrants to found colonies in distant lands, an entirely new conception of the relation that should bind such colonies to the mother state came into existence. Instead of the emigrants leaving the mother state behind them, they were supposed to take it upon their backs. "The notion was, where Englishmen are there is England, where Frenchmen are there is France, and so the possessions of France in North America were called New France, and one group at least of the English possessions New England."*

Although England was the last of the states of the new type to enter upon the work of colonization, she has been able to give it a wider extension than any of her competitors. According to the theory of the English constitution, the title to all newly discovered lands accrued to the king in his public and regal character, and the exclusive right to grant them resided in him as a part of the royal prerogative; "upon these principles rest the various charters and grants of territory made on this continent."† The great title-deed under which the English settlers in America took actual and permanent possession of the greater part of the Atlantic seaboard is represented by the charter granted by James I., April 10th, 1606, creating two distinct corporations as colonizing agents. The entire scheme thus outlined was based upon English law by that provision in the original charter which declared:

> "That all and every the persons, being our subjects which shall go and inhabit within the said colony and plantation, and every their children and posterity, which shall happen to be born within any of the limits thereof, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or in any other of our dominions."

It is not therefore strange that, under the principles of the English constitution, a country subdued by an army of the Empire becomes immediately a part of the king's dominions in right of his crown, and its inhabitants, so soon as they pass under the king's protection, cease to be enemies or aliens and become sub-

* Seeley, "The Expansion of England," p. 49.
† Taney, C. J., in Martin et al. v. The Lessee of Waddell, 16 Peters, p. 409.

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jects. In a word, foreign territory becomes a part of the British Empire and its inhabitants British subjects, both as to the conquering state and foreign nations, *ipso facto,* by the conquest itself, without any enabling or confirming legislation upon the part of the Imperial Parliament. As Lord Coke declared in Calvin's case, "they that were born in those parts of France that were under actual legiance and obedience were no aliens, but capable of, and heritable to, lands in England."*

The liberality with which the English constitution thus bestows citizenship and legal rights upon those under its dominion in foreign lands has ever been more than offset by the exclusive spirit that denies to all colonists the right to representation in the sovereign assembly at home which directs the affairs of the Empire as a whole. That assembly, while denying to all colonists the boon of being heard through their representatives, has ever claimed the right to invade the jurisdiction of all colonial assemblies in order to legislate directly upon internal colonial concerns. In the gorgeous language of Burke, the English Parliament is clothed with "an Imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all without annihilating any." In the hands of a practical, tax-loving statesman like Grenville, this imperial theory was not confined to mere supervision; in such hands, it was held to mean that the Imperial Parliament could at any moment override the acts of the colonial assemblies, without consulting their wishes at all, and tax and legislate for the people of Massachusetts and Virginia just as it could for the people of Kent and Middlesex. Out of the conflict which finally arose between the English and Colonial theories as to the practical omnipotence of the Imperial Parliament over self-governing communities beyond the four seas grew the War of the Revolution, and the severance of the English colonies in America from the mother state.

With an outline of the colonial systems, ancient and modern, of the leading European nations clearly in view, it is easier to understand the spirit and purpose with which the founders of our federal republic entered upon the task of creating and governing colonies or territories beyond the limits of their new creation. The signing of the first Constitution of the United States, em-

* State Trials, ii., 559.

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bodied in the Articles of Confederation, which was submitted to the States for adoption in November, 1777, was not completed until March 1st, 1781, when Maryland finally gave it her adhesion. The long delay arose out of the refusal of Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland to enter the Confederation until the controversy was settled as to the ultimate ownership of the great Western Territory of which France had been dispossessed. Although deserted by her allies, Maryland refused to abandon her contention:

"That a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the Treaty of Paris, if wrested from that common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress, into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that Assembly shall hereafter direct."

In that way the new nationality became the sovereign possessor of "the whole Northwestern Territory—the area of the great States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio (excepting the Connecticut reserve*)" which, under the Articles of Confederation, it had no express right either to hold or govern. Notwithstanding that fact, Congress, acting under authority clearly implied, boldly entered upon the creation of that scheme of territorial government which was embodied in the Ordinance of 1784 for the government of the Northwest Territory. In describing that famous enactment, an eminent American historian† said not long ago:

"It was our first effort at colonial government, our first attempt to rule a community not fit to become a State and enter the Union; and by it a new political institution, the Territory, was created in two grades. At the head of the committee which reported the ordinance was the apostle of liberty, the father of American democracy, the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. If one member more than another of that committee was bound to carry out the principles of the Declaration, and seek to establish a government in strict accordance with them, that member was Jefferson. If any one man more than another could be pardoned for attempting to carry the self-evident truth to an extreme, Jefferson was that man. Yet not for a moment was he led astray by the ideals he had announced to the world as the true basis of democratic government. He and his fellow-members knew well that no popular government can stand long or accomplish much for the good of the governed which is not carefully adjusted to the wants, conditions and intelligence of the people who are to live under it. The plan presented and adopted, therefore, did not contain

* John Fiske, "The Critical Period," p. 194.
† Prof. J. B. McMaster, in The Forum of December, 1898.

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one vestige of self-government till there were five thousand free white males living in the territory, and this in spite of the fact that the great majority of them would be citizens from the seaboard States and well accustomed to self-government. * * * The clear distinction between a State and a Territory, thus drawn at the very outset of our career, and the principles then established—that Congress was free to govern the depedencies of the United States in such a manner as it saw fit; that the government it granted need not be republican, even in form; that men might be taxed without any representation in the taxing body, stripped absolutely of the franchise, and ruled by officials not of their own choice—have never been departed from, and have often been signally confirmed."

In the light of that historical statement, attested by documents whose plain terms can neither be contradicted nor misconstrued, should be answered the inquiry propounded by the Hon. George F. Edmunds in his notable article which appeared in the August number of this REVIEW:

"Was the Declaration of Independence of 1776 a mere phantasm of the founders of the Republic putting forth fantastic fiction? If so, the people of the United States ought, logically, to be now a Crown Colony of Great Britain, awaiting, like the Boers, the good pleasure of Parliament and the King for such measure of liberty and justice as their masters might be pleased to bestow upon them."

While it is hard to make a commonplace, prosy response to such an apostrophe to liberty, the plain fact remains that the author of the Declaration of Independence himself—when the opportunity was presented to him to design a system of colonial or territorial government for inhabitants of contiguous territory, drawn in the main from the seaboard States—was unwilling to concede representative government at all until there were at least five thousand free white males living in the Territory. When the settlers reached that number, any free white man who had resided there the proper time, and who owned fifty acres, might take part in the election of a House of Representatives, every member of which must be possessed of a freehold of two hundred acres. Such House when assembled was authorized to nominate ten men, each possessed of a freehold of five hundred acres, of whom the President was required to commission five as legislative councillors. The House and Council so constituted could, by joint ballot, choose a delegate to represent the Territory in the national House of Representatives, where he was permitted to speak, but not to vote. This oligarchical form of territorial government created by the Continental Congress, and adopted by the first Congress under the Constitution, became the standard after

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which all others since established have been closely modelled. It thus appears that Jefferson, with the words of the Declaration fresh upon his lips, had no more inclination to extend the Constitution of the mother-state to his brethren settled in outlying colonies or territories than Pericles had to extend the constitution of Athens to Chios or Mitylene. It never occurred to either that the principles of human right demanded or justified such an extension. That idea, which finds no support in the world's past history, is an over-humane afterthought of very recent times.

Strange indeed it is that the makers of the existing Constitution of the United States should have dismissed the vast subject involved in the acquisition and government of Territories with the brief provision contained in Article IV., Section 3, to the effect that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States." When, in 1803, Jefferson was confronted with a lack of express power to purchase Louisiana, he fell back, after a momentary hesitation, upon the implied power necessarily incident to the nature of the government itself. In a letter addressed at the time to Mr. Gallatin, he said:

"There is no constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory, and whether when acquired it may be taken into the Union by the Constitution as it now stands will become a question of expediency. I think it will be safer not to permit the enlargement of the Union but by an amendment of the Constitution."*

Jefferson believed with Walter Bagehot that:

"A constitution is a collection of political means for political ends, and if you admit that any part of a constitution does no business, or that a simpler machine would do equally well what it does, you admit that this part of the Constitution, however dignified or awful it may be, is nevertheless in truth useless."†

The purchase of Louisiana was urgent and vitally important business, which Jefferson, with the aid of Congress, so promptly dispatched that the province was taken from Napoleon for a song; and, after it had been divided, a part, corresponding very nearly to the present State of Louisiana, was named the "Territory of Orleans." To the new Territory thus formed an oligarchical form of government was given by Congress, but little in advance of that devised in the first instance by Jefferson for

* Gallatin's Writings, vol. i., p. 115.
† "The English Constitution," p. 4.

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the Northwest Territory. Even the right of trial by jury was conceded with a serious restriction. During the debate on the treaty under which Louisiana was purchased, the question was raised that a discrimination was made in favor of New Orleans as against Charleston or New York, by the provision which permitted ships coming from France or Spain to enter the ports of Louisiana during a period of twelve years, without paying more duty than was exacted from vessels belonging to citizens of the United States. Such a discrimination, it was said, conflicted with Article I., Section 9, of the Constitution, which provides that "no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." The short and conclusive answer to that objection was that, as the prohibition in question related only to the States and not to the Territories, any preference that might be given to the port of Louisiana was not invalid, because Louisiana was a Territory and not a State.

When, for a second time, our domain was expanded by the acquisition of Florida, under the treaty from Spain ratified October 20th, 1820, Congress, a second time refusing to recognize the duty of extending the constitutional guarantees to a territory, gave to the new acquisition in 1822 substantially the same form of government provided for Orleans in 1804. In the case of the American Ins. Co. *v.* 356 Bales of Cotton, Peters 511, the question was presented to the Supreme Court of the United States whether or no that part of the territorial government providing that the judges of the Superior Courts of Florida should hold their offices for four years conflicted with that provision of the Federal Constitution providing that "the judges of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, etc." In delivering the opinion, Chief Justice Marshall said that the court "should take into view the relation in which Florida stands to the United States;" that territory ceded by treaty "becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose." He further held that the judicial clause of the Federal Constitution, above quoted, had no application whatever to the organization of territorial courts, because Florida, upon the conclusion of the treaty, became a Territory of the United States, and subject to the power of Congress legislating

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under the territorial clause, and outside of the constitutional guarantees.

When, for a third time, our domain was widened by the acquisition, in 1848, under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, of a vast region inhabited by people of mixed races, with laws and customs unlike our own, the problem of territorial government became entangled with an effort to extend the limits within which slavery coould be maintained. In the course of a debate that ensued on an amendment to a certain bill offering to extend the Constitution and certain laws of the United States over the proposed Territories of Utah and New Mexico, a scene occurred of which Mr. Benton gives us the following description:

"The novelty and strangeness of this proposition called up Mr. Webster, who repulsed as an absurdity and as an impossibility the scheme of extending the Constitution to the Territories, declaring that instrument to have been made for States, not Territories; that Congress governed the Territories independently of the Constitution and incompatibly with it; that no part of it went to a Territory but what Congress chose to send; that it could not act of itself anywhere, not even in the States for which it was made, and that it required an act of Congress to put it in operation before it had effect anywhere. Mr. Clay was of the same opinion, and added: 'Now, really, I must say the idea that, *eo instanti*, upon the consummation of the treaty, the Constitution of the United States spread itself over the acquired territory and carried along with it the institution of slavery, is so irreconcilable with my comprehension, or any reason I possess, that I hardly know how to meet it.' Upon the other hand, Mr. Calhoun boldly avowed his intent to carry slavery into them under the wings of the Constitution, and denounced as enemies of the South all who opposed it."

In 1850, the year following that in which the foregoing debate occurred, the Supreme Court delivered its judgment in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 Howard, p. 603, a case arising out of an action brought against the collector of the port of Philadelphia to recover back certain duties on merchandise imported into that port from Tampico, in Mexico, during the temporary occupation of that place by the military forces of the United States. The substance of the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney, as stated in the head notes, is as follows:

"The President acted as a military commander prosecuting a war waged against a public enemy by the authority of his government, and the conquered country was held in possession in order to distress and harass the enemy. It did not thereby become a part of the Union. The boundaries of the United States were not extended by the conquest.

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"Tampico was therefore a foreign port, within the meaning of the act of Congress passed on the 30th of July, 1846, and duties were properly levied upon goods imported into the United States from Tampico. The administrative departments of the government have never recognized a place in a newly-acquired country as a domestic port, from which the coasting trade might be carried on, unless it had been previously made so by an act of Congress; and the principle thus adopted has always been sanctioned by the circuit courts of the United States, and by this court."

With the foregoing statements of law and of fact clearly in view, it will be more possible for the reader to thread his way through the intricate, profound and far-reaching judicial expositions of the status of our territorial possessions recently made by the Supreme Court of the United States in what are known as the "Insular Tariff Cases." After a careful study of the prevailing opinions, no substantial departure can be found from the following cardinal propositions, which, for a long time, have been regarded as fundamental: (1.) That when territory is subdued by the armies of the United States, it passes under the despotic war power of the President, as Commander-in-Chief, who, in the exercise of that power, is unrestrained by the Constitution and the laws of the United States; (2.) that when territory is thus acquired by the United States by conquest, its holding is a mere military occupation until, by a treaty of peace, the acquisition is confirmed; (3.) that when the new acquisition passes into a territorial condition, the despotic war power vested in the President, as Commander-in-Chief, is superseded by the power of Congress, which is equally unlimited, except as to such constitutional "prohibitions as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place;" (4.) that until the ceded territory is admitted as a State, it is not drawn within the circle of the constitutional guarantees which apply, in their entirety, to States only.

In the case of De Lima *v.* Bidwell, the leading facts were these: The invasion of Porto Rico, begun in July, 1898, by the military forces of the United States, was suspended on August 12th by a protocol entered into between the Secretary of State and the French Ambassador on the part of Spain, providing for a suspension of hostilities, the cession of the island, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace. On October 18th Porto Rico was evacuated by the Spanish forces, and on December 10th a treaty was signed at Paris under which Spain ceded the island

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to the United States. Such treaty was ratified by the President and Senate February 6th, 1899, and by the Queen Regent of Spain March 19th. On March 2d an act was passed making an appropriation to carry out the obligations of the treaty; and on April 11th the ratifications were exchanged and the treaty proclaimed at Washington. De Lima & Company sued the collector of the port of New York to recover duties alleged to have been illegally exacted, and paid under protest, upon certain importations of sugar from San Juan, in the island of Porto Rico, during the autumn of 1899 and subsequent to the cession of the island to the United States. The duties in the question were exacted under the tariff act of July 24th, 1897, commonly known as the Dingley Act, which declares that "there shall be levied, collected and paid upon all articles imported *from foreign countries*" certain duties therein specified. Unless Porto Rico was a "foreign country," within the meaning of the tariff laws, at the time these duties were levied, it was admitted that their exaction was illegal. As Congress had not acted in any manner in regard to Porto Rico prior to the exaction of the duties in question, the island certainly remained a "foreign country" as to the United States, unless it had been transformed into domestic territory solely through the forces of the treaty-making power, unaided by Congressional legislation. Prior to the announcement of the judgment in the De Lima case, it was generally assumed to be settled by the decisions of the Supreme Court that, until the status of territory so occupied, and that of its inhabitants, have been altered by adequate Congressional legislation, such territory does not cease to be foreign, nor do its inhabitants cease to be aliens, in the sense in which those words are used in the laws of the United States. That conclusion was based in the main upon the pointed declarations made in U. S. *v.* Rice, 4 Wheat., 246, and in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 How., 603. The result of the effort of Justice Brown to reverse the rule thus settled can hardly be permanent, unless he has been able to overthrow the authority of Fleming *v.* Page—first, by the assumption that the gravamen of that decision is mere *dictum;* second, by the assumption that a contrary rule was really announced in the subsequent case of Cross *v.* Harrison, 16 How., 164. Justice Gray expressed himself with sententious force as to the first assumption when he dissented from the conclusion announced by Justice Brown, upon the

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ground that it appeared to him "irreconcilable with the unanimous opinion of this court in Fleming *v.* Page, 9 How., 603, 13 L. ed., 276, and with the opinion of the majority of the justices in the case, this day decided, of Downes *v.* Bidwell, 181, U. S." As to the second assumption, it is hard to understand how the conclusion reached in Fleming *v.* Page could be weakened by that announced in Cross *v.* Harrison, in view of the fact, as stated by Justice White in the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, that the opinion in the latter case "pointedly referred to a letter of the Secretary of the Treasury directing the enforcement of the tariff laws of the United States upon the express ground that Congress had enacted laws which recognized the treaty of cession. Besides, the decision was expressly placed upon the conditions of the treaty, and it was stated, in so many words, that a different rule would have been applied had the stipulations in the treaty been of a different character." The dominant idea which seems to have driven Justice Brown to the conclusion reached in the De Lima case, as stated by himself, was that "we are unable to acquiesce in the assumption that a territory may be at the same time both foreign and domestic." Such a scruple certainly has no foundation in the general canons of international law, which even go so far as to recognize the principle that the same territory may possess, at the same moment, a belligerent and a neutral character.* The most cogent reason, however, for the re-establishment of the rule supposed, for so long a time, to have been settled in Fleming *v.* Page, is to be found in the fact that the admission of a new community into our customs union is purely a political function that should belong exclusively to the federal legislature. To bring about such a change in the application of statute law, affecting our revenue system, through judicial construction merely, is a dangerous extension of the power of judicial legislation.

The vacuum existing in the De Lima case, by reason of the lack of Congressional action, was filled by the enactment, on April 12th, 1900, of the act known as the Foraker Act, to provide temporary revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, which took effect May 1st, 1900. The case brought by Downes against the collector of the port of New York was to recover certain duties paid under protest upon certain merchandise brought

* Hall, "International Law," p. 530, 4th ed.

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thither from San Juan, in the island of Porto Rico, during the month of November, 1900, imposed under the authority of the Foraker Act. The plaintiff assailed the constitutionality of that act on the ground that it conflicts with Article I., Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The question thus presented was this: To what extent does the Federal Constitution apply to a Territory of the United States? The prolonged controversy on that subject, extending from the making of the present Constitution, reached a decided stage when the Supreme Court declared, in 1879, without a dissenting voice, in the case of the First National Bank of Brunswick *v.* County of Yankton, 101, U. S., 129, that:

"The territories are but political sub-divisions of the outlying dominion of the United States. They bear much the same relation to the general government that counties do to the States, and Congress may legislate for them as States do for their respective municipal organizations. The organic law of a Territory takes the place of a constitution, as the fundamental law of a local government. It is obligatory on and binds the territorial authorities; but Congress is supreme, and, for the purposes of this department of its governmental authority, has all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly, or by implication, reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution."

In Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S. *v.* United States, 136, U. S., 1, the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Bradley, said, in holding that Congress had power to repeal the charter of the church, that:

"The power of Congress over the territories of the United States is general and plenary, arising from and incidental to the right to acquire the territory itself, and from the power given by the Constitution to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States. * * * Doubtless Congress, in legislating for the territories, would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the Constitution and its amendments, but those limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution, from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions."

In the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, a bare majority of the Supreme Court, speaking through the weighty words of Justice Brown, reiterated that historic and unassailable doctrine in the declaration that:

"The power over the territories is vested in Congress without limitation, and that this power has been considered the foundation

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upon which the territorial governments rest was also asserted by Chief Justice Marshall in McCulloch *v.* Maryland, 4 Wheat., 316, 422, 4 L. ed., 579, 605, and in United States *v.* Gratiot, 14 Pet., 526, 10 L. ed., 573."

So far from attempting to enlarge the power of Congress over the Territories, as defined in the earlier cases, Justice Brown, in announcing the prevailing opinion in the case in question, manifested a decided inclination to narrow it, when he said:

"To sustain the judgment in the case under consideration, it by no means becomes necessary to show that none of the articles of the Constitution apply to the island of Porto Rico. There is a clear distinction between such prohibitions as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place, and such as are operative only 'throughout the United States' or among the several States. Thus, when the Constitution declares that 'no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed,' and that 'no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States,' it goes to the competency of Congress to pass a bill *of that description.* * * * Whatever may be finally decided by the American people as to the status of these islands and their inhabitants—whether they shall be introduced into the sisterhood of States, or be permitted to form independent governments—it does not follow that, in the meantime, awaiting that decision, the people are, in the matter of personal rights, unprotected by the provisions of our Constitution, and subject to the merely arbitrary control of Congress."

While the Court was thus emphasizing the fact that the personal rights of inhabitants of Territories are guarded to some extent, at least, by such constitutional limitations "as go to the very root of the power of Congress to act at all, irrespective of time or place," it was careful to say that such provisions of the Constitution as are operative only "throughout the United States," or among the several States, are applicable to the Territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when Congress shall so direct. An incontrovertible historical fact is recognized by the statement that the existing federal Constitution was made for the "United States, by which term we understand the *States* whose people *united* to form the Constitution and such as have since been admitted to the Union upon an equality with them." The court therefore concluded that "the island of Porto Rico is a territory appurtenant and belonging to the United States, but not a part of the United States within the revenue clauses of the Constitution; that the Foraker Act is constitutional, so far as it imposes duties upon imports from such island, and that the plaintiff cannot recover back the duties exacted in this case."

In view of the gravely perplexing problems of territorial gov-

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ernment now pending for solution, it should be a comfort to the country to know that the Supreme Court, in the case of Downes *v.* Bidwell, has declined to take away from Congress any of the power to deal with such problems vested in it by the founders of the Republic. In their time, they were called upon to adapt colonial systems not only to the wants of their own brethren settled in contiguous territory, but also to the wants of alien and mixed races, widely different in origin, and with customs and usages unlike our own, settled in like territory. In our time, we are called upon to adapt colonial systems to alien and mixed races settled not only beyond the seas, but, in more than one instance, at points remote from our shores. Even those of our people who are neither readers of history nor students of the science of politics are beginning to understand that the silent and irresistible law of growth, which expands the girdle of the oak, is an equally irresistible law of our national life, which neither legislators, jurists, nor sentimentalists can suspend or control. The only practical question now is how to deal with the new conditions resulting from such growth. The most widely extended and fruitful colonial system that has ever existed is that possessed by the British Empire, the keystone of whose success is embodied in the application to each of its widely divergent parts of that form of government which seems best adapted to its special stage of development and to its local wants and traditions. When the English colonial system is viewed as a whole, the fact appears that it embraces almost every form of government, from that of the autocratic High Commissioner, who legislates for savage Basutoland by the issuance of proclamations merely, up to the complex federal union, under which the self-governing communities of Canada control their own destinies with scarcely any interference whatever from the parent state. Such a system never shocked the sensibilities of liberty-loving statesmen like John Bright, Wilberforce and Macaulay. Why should any American citizen feel called upon to become a more advanced champion of the rights of man than Thomas Jefferson, whose foreign policy rested upon two clearly defined principles: first, that territory shall be annexed as rapidly as the growth of the nation demands; second, that such territory shall be governed by Congress under appropriate systems, framed without reference to the special plan of liberty embodied in the Consti-

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tution of the parent state. And, in his far-sighted wisdom, Jefferson by no means limited his ideas to the acquisition of contiguous territory. When he was called upon by President Monroe to define the political relations of the New World to the Old, he said in his epoch-making letter of October 24th, 1823, of which the Monroe Doctrine was born:

"But we have first to ask ourselves a question. Do we wish to acquire to our confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being."

Who can doubt that the realization of that prophecy is near at hand? After the Cuban people have fully availed themselves of the opportunity, now wisely and justly extended to them by the United States, of attempting the hopeless experiment of establishing and maintaining a separate nationality, they will seek a release from their sea of troubles in a petition for annexation. That result must be reached for three reasons: first, because the day of small nationalities is over; second, because the race conflict will render stable government in the island impossible; third, because the future economic prosperity of the island depends upon a favorable relation to the customs union of the United States. When our congenial neighbors, who have suffered so much, knock at our doors, we must open them wide enough to receive the Queen of the Antilles as a State according to the plan of Jefferson. Her products must pass from Havana to New York just as the products of South Carolina pass to that port from Charleston. She will then become in fact, as in name, the richest spot in the New World.

In dealing with the far-distant realm of the Philippines, inhabited by peoples alien in every way to our own, Congress should look to recent European experience in Africa for the only practical solution of the difficulties confronting us there. The one new and hopeful expedient in the interest of peace, which the partition of Africa has added to the law of occupation, is embodied in the device recently agreed upon in various forms by Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Portugal and other nations for the prevention of future conflicts as to boundaries. With the history of such conflicts in America to guide them, a systematic

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effort has been made by many Powers to prevent their recurrence in Africa through international treaties of delimitation, which define in advance the "sphere of influence" through which the growing settlements of any given state may extend. From the sphere thus defined the dominant state has the right to exclude other European states through their own consent, thus leaving the field clear for the free development of its chartered companies and protectorates. As the Philippines have already been drawn within our "sphere of influence" in such a way as to vest in us the right to exclude all other nations, the problem is how to reduce the burden of governing them to the minimum. In order to insure to appropriated and uncivilized regions a degree of peace and order which chartered companies can hardly be expected permanently to supply, many European governments have supplemented or superseded their control by the establishment of protectorates, a rather vague and indefinite form of political organization, which differs from a colony in that the protected community neither becomes an integral part of the protecting state, nor surrenders, except to a certain extent, the right to exercise internal sovereignty. As a general rule, the Power establishing a protectorate strives to secure only such a limited control over the internal affairs of the dependent community as will enable it to discharge the external obligations assumed to foreign states. If Congress and the Executive would proceed more strictly on such lines in dealing with the Philippines, we could be saved from the unbearable burdens that will surely result from the attempt to establish there a more strictly organized colonial system than the circumstances of the case now warrant. As the entire group is safely within our "sphere of influence," our actual occupation should be limited to the coast cities, where the navy can be most effective, and where the problem of government can be reduced to the maintenance of a few municipal systems. In that way can be minimized the burden of maintaining in the interior a large army of occupation. In that way lives, treasure and the unnecessary effort to govern alien peoples, with customs and laws unlike our own, may be spared, without weakening in the slightest, as against the rest of the world, our title to a possession whose importance must increase with the growing greatness of the Pacific. HANNIS TAYLOR.

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THE NEXT CONCLAVE.

BY R. DE CESARE, MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

PIUS IX., who ruled longer than St. Peter himself, having governed the Church for thirty-two years, saw 118 Cardinals sink into the tomb; and, at his death, there still survived four Cardinals created by Gregory XVI., and sixty of his own creation. The Cardinals of Pope Gregory are now dead; and, of those of Pius IX., three only still remain. At the present day, there exists no member of the Sacred College, of the episcopate, of the prelacy, or perhaps even of the priesthood, who exceeds the Pope in years. He is the most aged priest in the world. With the death of Cardinal Galeati, Archbishop of Ravenna, 136 Cardinals have already passed away during his pontificate, a number not equalled during any other pontificate, even including that of Pius IX. Although four of these 136 Cardinals were created by Gregory XVI, and sixty by Pius IX., as mentioned above, all the others were created by Leo XIII. If, on the one hand, under no former pontificate have so many Princes of the Church passed away, on the other hand no Pope has ever witnessed the deaths of so many Cardinals of his own creation.

At the time of the Conclave which followed the death of Pius IX., there were sixty-four Cardinals living, and only three did not take part in it. Of these, Mgr. Brossais de Saint Marc, Archbishop of Rennes, and Mgr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, were prevented by reason of illness, and both died shortly afterwards; the third, Mgr. McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, did not arrive in time. This Conclave, which elected Leo XIII., is considered to be one of the most complete and most harmonious that have ever taken place. There were only two legal *scrutinies*, as one was annulled by reason of some technical irregularity. Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci entered the Conclave as Pope and left it as

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Pope, thus proving the fallacy of the old Roman saying that "he who enters the Conclave as Pope leaves it as Cardinal."

Cardinal Pecci was elected because he was regarded as best adapted to re-establish the Papacy in the favor of the Great Powers of Europe. Pius IX., who was of an impressionable and impulsive nature, had come into opposition with nearly all the Powers; and, at his death, a unanimous desire for a Pope of conciliatory tendencies was expressed by all the European governments. In my *"Conclave di Leone XIII.,"* I published the secret diplomatic correspondence exchanged between the Cabinets of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Madrid and the Italian Ministry, upon the occasion of the death of Pius IX. A conciliatory Pope was demanded, and the French Cabinet even requested a Pope of moderate sentiments, who should "render reconciliation with Italy possible." Pius IX. had declared against Germany after 1870, and Germany had responded by the Kulturkampf; against Russia, also, on account of Polish affairs; his relations with the French Republic were of an unfriendly nature, and he had displayed his sympathies for the Irish upon several occasions. Although England took no part in the arrangements for the Conclave, she, too, nevertheless, desired a Pope of conciliatory and moderate views.

Leo XIII. was just such a Pope; he has even gone too far in his desire for peace, since he has conceded perhaps more than was really necessary; he even sacrificed the religious interests of Catholics, upon several occasions, for the sake of earning the good will of their governments. He made peace with Germany, and obliged the Centre to vote for the seven years' military service; he remained unmoved by the complaints of the Poles, and aided Russia in her work of political and religious colonization in Poland; he upheld England in the Irish and Maltese questions; he abandoned the Spanish Carlists, in spite of their fervent Catholicism; and to-day he is engaged in the deplorable double struggle which he has entered upon in France—with the clergy, constraining them to recognize the Republic as the legitimate government; and with the Republic, which persecutes religious bodies and threatens to denounce the Concordat. Even in his most recent discourse, in reply to the congratulations of the Sacred College upon the completion of his ninety-first year, Leo XIII. made mention of one nation only, France, in the most eulogistic terms;

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and that at a moment when the debates in the French Parliament upon the project aimed against religious bodies were becoming more and more violent. On the other hand, the Pope refrained from a word of protest against the Armenian massacres, or the murders in China. He is the friend of all established governments.

Leo XIII. has only one enemy, with whom he wages an eternal and inexorable warfare, and this enemy is the Italian government —that is, New Italy, which has made Rome her capital, has established a lay Court in a Papal palace, and has proclaimed liberty of belief and the freedom of the Press, after having abolished the theory of the inalienability of ecclesiastical property.

With this enemy no terms can be made; and therefore Leo XIII. is designedly accommodating to all other Governments, in order to gain support for his claims. He is deeply involved in this struggle, which has no other effect than that of alienating Italian Catholics from the Apostolic See and from the teaching of the Church; of rendering the dissension more acute, to the benefit of extreme parties, Socialists and Radicals, neither of whom have any religious belief; and, lastly, of seriously endangering the very law of the Papal guarantees. It had been hoped that the new Pope, now no longer a temporal prince, would make peace with Italy, in consideration of the fact that the new conditions imposed by that law upon the Papacy in Rome guaranteed in reality its spiritual independence; and of the further fact that the Pope's having a court of his own, together with all the privileges of sovereignty, in the Vatican Palace, and his own diplomatic corps, secured to him full and complete liberty in his relations with the whole world. But this was a delusion, and unfortunately not the only one of this long pontificate.

The last and most painful disillusionment took place at the time of the assassination of King Humbert, when the bishops and clergy joined in the national mourning, and celebrated memorial services for the murdered King. This movement was so spontaneous and universal that it was impossible to conceive its taking place without at least the tacit consent of the Vatican, especially when one takes into consideration the subjection in which the episcopate and clergy of Italy are maintained by the Roman Curia. Moreover, Mgr. Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, the chief bishop in Italy, approved of the prayer of Queen

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Margherita, while both secular and regular ecclesiastics took part in the funeral service at Rome, and the King's body was taken from the chapel of Santa Maria ad Martyres to the historic temple of the Pantheon, where it was laid to rest. It was thought that the tragedy at Monza had endowed the Vatican with the vision of the common dangers threatening both Church and State! But this, also, proved to be an illusion; for, a few days afterwards, *"L'Osservatore Romano,"* the official organ of the Curia, published an unseemly *communiqué*, in which notice was given to the world that the funeral of the King had been merely *tolerated* by the Vatican, and that the Queen's prayer was condemned as contrary to the Liturgy! This was a melancholy episode, and highly offensive to the religious conscience of the Italian nation; but a few months later Leo XIII. confirmed these views in a discourse to the Cardinals. He protested, with great acrimony and almost juvenile ardor, against the accession of the new King, renewing the protest of his own rights to Rome. These rights, he said, are beyond the reach of prescription, either by lapse of time or by change of possessor!

It appears, therefore, that no power can diminish the bitterness of the Vatican against New Italy and the House of Savoy. The tragedy at Monza did not draw a single phrase of sympathy from the aged Pope, not a prayer for the murdered King nor a word of comfort for the desolate Queen! Nothing at all! And what was the cause of all this resentment against the dead? King Humbert was a devout Catholic prince; he never even conceived a single action hostile or wanting in reverence to the religion of his fathers; he showed respect and deference to the authority of the Church; he desired and longed for the termination of the conflict, striving to reconcile the national rights and the inviolability of Rome with the religious feeling of the nation; he founded hospitals and churches; he helped all poor priests or bishops who appealed to his generosity; he desired a private oratory for his family in the Quirinal; he took part in the grand religious and artistic festival at the time of the discovery of the façade of Santa Maria dei Fiori; and for this good and devout man, for this prince whose life was one long act of charity and mercy, and whose death was an expiation of faults not his own, the Pope had not a word of sympathy or pardon.

And when Queen Margherita, the guiding star of the reign of

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Humbert I., wrestling with her grief, laid aside all thought of her royal rank, and with the faith and humility of the early Christians turned to God in a prayer that it is impossible to read without tears, the Pope rejected it as an unholy thing, because it did not correspond to the liturgical rules, although it was approved by the premier Bishop in Italy! This is the most melancholy episode of the Pontificate of Leo XIII. It was a delusion to believe that the law of guarantees would be sufficient to create a *modus vivendi* between the Vatican and Italy after the death of Pius IX. It has only served to increase the obstinate hostility of the Roman Curia against the Italian Monarchy; and, if the aged Pope dies without the consolation of witnessing the restoration of temporal power, it cannot be said that he has neglected any means of attaining it. This failure, or rather series of failures and mistakes, has not enlarged his mind, nor will it enlarge that of his successor; perhaps the latter will alter his tactics; but, whosoever he may be, he will never renounce his claim to temporal power, and, therefore, the contest between the Italian state and the Papacy will still continue. At the present day, the religious conscience in Italy seems altogether deadened. The Catholics are incapable of independent action, and the most fervent among them, and also the most intelligent, do not venture to propose an "*aut . . . aut*" to the Pope. Temporal power is not a dogma of the Church; and, for this reason, the Catholics might disregard the "*non expedit*," and take part in political elections. On the contrary, they content themselves with murmuring in private, because the voice of conscience is dead within them, and hence the Italian government has never possessed an earnest and consistent ecclesiastical policy.

The length of the last two Pontificates, which together amount to fifty-five years at the present day, contributes to keep up the enmity between the Papacy and Italy, and to render it more and more acute. The aged are proverbially obstinate and tenacious. The intolerance of Pius IX. increased with age, and that of Leo XIII. has become more jealous and vehement with his years. If there had been four or five Pontificates during the fifty-five years that have elapsed since 1846, together with corresponding changes in the Court, the Prelacy, and the Sacred College, as well as differences of influence and tendency, perhaps the state of affairs at present would be other than it is. From 1644, the year

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of the death of Urban VIII., to 1700, which marked the death of Innocent XII., there were seven Pontificates—that is to say, in fifty-six years, almost the same period as that from June, 1846, when Pius IX. was elected, to the present day, when Leo XIII. enters upon the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate. In fifty-six years, Italy has completely altered, but the Papacy remains unchanged among all these modifications and evolutions. The government of the Church is as it were crystallized; and if the Sacred College is renewed personally, it is not renewed spiritually; nor will it be so by means of the new Cardinals created in the Consistory held by the Pope after Easter. Of these new Cardinals only two are foreigners, the Archbishops of Prague and of Cracow, both of Slavonic origin, for Leo XIII. has no liking for Anglo-Saxons. It almost seems as though he distrusted them. No new Cardinal is created either in America, England or Germany; all America continues to have only one; England has two; Germany three, of whom one is a Pole and another a Jesuit. If the Church be universal, this universality is not represented in the Sacred College. Neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. has listened to the warning which the saintly Father Hecker, founder of the Order of the Paulists, when on his deathbed, sent to the Pope by a bishop who was starting for Rome. His message was that one of the things which would bring about progress in religion was the choosing of Cardinals from among all nations, in order that there might be a Senate which really represented the whole of Christendom.

The spirit animating the Sacred College is, therefore, reactionary; the reaction is more collective than individual, more conventional than sincere. There are many among the Italian Cardinals who deplore the enmity between the State and the Church, an enmity which impedes the formation of a Conservative party in Italy, forcing the Government, the Parliament and the Monarchy to the brink of Radicalism, and destroying all religious feeling among the masses. Italian society has to contend against two opposing currents of ideas—Radicalism, degenerating into Socialism, and Clericalism, degenerating into political reaction: two currents which refuse to recognize the Monarchy and the unity of the nation, and which, therefore, are agreed upon the destruction of the present order of things, with the certain result of opposing each other furiously after the general demolition. A

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gloomy future is preparing for Italy, for the Monarchy and the Papacy, for the unity of the nation and the unity of faith.

But if there are many among the Cardinals who deplore this dissension and dread the possible effects of it, *esprit de corps* and the power of prejudice have their influence upon all. United as they are, they all think in a similar manner, because none wishes to appear less zealous than another. All assert that the political independence of the Holy See is necessary to the independence of the Church; that the restoration of temporal power in its minutest forms is imperative, at least with regard to the government of Rome, where no other rule is desired or can be tolerated—Rome, the seat of the Papacy and the tomb of the Apostles! And thus the sentiment of intolerance arises spontaneously among the Cardinals, and is nourished by all those incidents and frictions which are the result of the daily contact of the two powers—opposing powers, condemned to exist side by side on the same territory; opposing powers, each of which ignores the other; the Middle Age with its hierarchy, and the modern age with its public rights. And since the Papacy is elective, and every Cardinal, even the humblest, aspires to it, or at least does not consider himself inferior to the others, he does not wish to appear behindhand in upholding the rights of the Church. The doctrine is as follows: Temporal power belongs, not to the Pope, but to the Church; the Pope must preserve it and transmit it intact to his successor, just as the Cardinals when created swear to defend it *"usque ad effusionem sanguinis."* And this principle, or, rather, this unconquerable prejudice, will animate the Cardinals assembled in Conclave, and will lead them to choose as Pope that one of their number whom they judge to be best fitted to regain temporal power, and to replace the Holy See, as they say, in a condition of independence.

The next Conclave will thus open under the above conditions, and therefore there is no possibility of hope that the new Pontiff will enter upon a new course with regard to Italian affairs. On the other hand, it is probable that he will modify his attitude with relation to foreign powers in the sense that he will sacrifice religious interests to political calculations less than Leo XIII. has done, but in no other respect. No new wave of thought will induce the Cardinals assembled in Conclave to choose one who desires religious peace in Italy, and who would devote, liberally

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and unreservedly, the universal influence of the Holy See to the solution of those grave and complicated social, moral and political problems which the old century has left as a legacy to the new. And it is on this account that the new Conclave occasions no exceptional interest, such as was aroused by that which followed upon the death of Pius IX.

It may be added that a Conclave no longer presents the characteristic spectacle which it offered in former times, when all authority of government in Rome ceased, and the unrestrained mob hastened to pillage the dwelling of the Cardinal elected Pope as soon as they heard the news of the election, which was often falsely circulated. The bridge of Sant' Angelo, the only bridge communicating with the Città Leonina, was barricaded, and the square of San Pietro was occupied by cavalry to keep thieves and unruly persons in check. In fact, since the last election held in the Vatican, nothing of the kind has taken place, and the last election was that of Pius VI., in 1775. Pius VII. was elected in the Conclave at Venice, and Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. were elected in the Quirinal Palace, constructed for the use of the Conclave, and still retaining its former appearance, notwithstanding the alterations which both interior and exterior have undergone since it has become the Roman residence of the King of Italy. The Quirinal was considered to be healthier than the Vatican, and was certainly cooler, as the Popes used to pass the summer months there, retiring in the autumn to the Villa di Castel Gandolfo, on the picturesque Alban Lake. Henceforth, the Conclaves will be held in the ancient Vatican, and that of Leo XIII. reopened the series. The palace is transformed into as many apartments as there are Cardinals; and each apartment is divided into four small chambers, which serve for the Cardinal; his secretary or Conclavist, who is a priest; his servant, who is a layman, and one for the purpose of drawing-room or ante-chamber, where the Cardinal dines and holds receptions. Visits between Cardinals are permitted during the Conclave. A picturesque description of a Conclave in the sixteenth century has been left by a French poet of that period, Joachim du Bellay, nephew and secretary of Cardinal Du Bellay, in his *"Regrets."* We here reproduce the verses, with their original orthography:

"Il fait bon voir, Pascal, un conclave secré
Et l'une chambre à l'autre également voisine
D'antichambre servir, de salle et de cuisine,

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En un petit recoin de dix pieds en carré;
Il fait bon voir autour le palais emmuré
Et briguer la dedans cette troupe divine
L'un par ambition, l'autre per bonne mine
Et par dépit de l'un être l'autre adoré;
Il fait bon voir dehors toute la ville en armes,
Crier: *Le pape est fait!* donner de faux alarmes;
Saccager un palais; mais plus que tout cela,
Fait bon voir qui de l'un, qui de l'autre se vante,
Qui met pour cestui-ci, qui met pour cestui-là
Et pour moins d'un écu dix cardinaux en vente."*

Du Bellay was in Rome at the death of Marcello II., and was present at the Conclave of Paul IV. Many of the customs of that time have fallen into disuse, thanks to the more civilized manners of the present day. The Cardinals are permitted to order their meals from outside, or have them from the kitchens of the Conclave; but the spirit of this *"troupe divine"* is perfectly caught in the above verses. The difference between those times and to-day consists solely in the fact that now it is only the Pope who is elected, and no longer the temporal prince of a magnificent kingdom in the heart of Italy; the Pope on whom that imprisonment is imposed which he will not have the power to break, that imprisonment from which Leo XIII. could not escape, even to see for the last time his old brother, Don Giuseppe, who died in 1890. These two circumstances, perhaps, do somewhat towards lessening the ambition of attaining the Papacy, but do not destroy it, since each Cardinal believes, as we have said, that he will be able by means of his political successes to restore temporal dominion and intone the great *"Te Deum"* in St. Peter's.

Thirteen years have passed since my work upon "The Coming Conclave" was written; and the circumstances of the Sacred College have altered so much that the previsions and conjectures of that time are no longer possible to-day. So many Cardinals are dead, and so many new Cardinals have been created! The *"papabili"*† of that period where Mgr. Monaco La Valletta, Vicar of the Pope in Rome; Battaglini, Archbishop of Bologna; San Felice, Archbishop of Naples; Dusmet, Archbishhop of Catania;

* "It is fine to see a secret conclave, Pascal, and one room next to another serving as antechamber, hall, and kitchen, in a little nook of ten feet square; it is fine to see the palace shut in, and that holy company intriguing within, one from ambition, another to make himself agreeable, and one adored from spite against another; it is fine to see all the town without in arms, crying: The Pope is chosen! giving false alarms; sacking a palace; but more than all else, it is fine to see who boasts of one, who of another, who holds to this one, who to that one, and ten Cardinals for sale for less than a crown."

† Those likely to be elected Pope.

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Parocchi, Cardinal of the Curia, and Capecelatro, Archbishop of Capua. Of these, the only survivors are Cardinals Parocchi and Capecelatro, who, for different reasons, are excluded from the Papacy; the former, because, agreeing with every one, he is no longer believed by any, and the latter, because he is held to be Liberal and conciliatory in his views. The last work of this Cardinal, which caused such a sensation in the Liberal press of Italy, and which still further intensified the anger of the Intolerants against him, is entitled: "Patriotism and the Catholics, especially in Italy." Notwithstanding that it is strictly orthodox, since the pious and learned Archbishop proclaims that the Pope must be the sole arbiter of peace, or rather of the conditions of peace, between Italy and the Holy See, it has still caused a great sensation, if only by reason of its title and the sincere love of Italy, *as now constituted,* which emanates from it. It was said that this was a dangerous symptom, and the most furious Intolerants desired Leo XIII. to admonish and reprove Cardinal Capecelatro, as Pius IX. had done to Cardinal D'Andrea in 1869. They were finally appeased by a warning from the Secretariate of State, published in the *"Osservatore Romano,"* in the following words:

"The Liberal journals make a recent discourse of Cardinal Capecelatro to the Seminarists of Capua the pretext for bringing forward the accusation that all those Catholics who obey the Papal directions in their relations with the government of Italy, as it is at present constituted, are enemies to their counry. *But it is clearly an injustice to the illustrious Cardinal even to think it possible that he could desire to take up an attitude contrary to the express instructions of the Supreme Head of the Church, whom alone it behooves to give guidance to the faithful as to the right course to be followed in such questions.* Now the Pope gives this guidance plainly and fully in the Encyclical of August 5th, 1898, addressed to the Bishops, clergy and people of Italy, pronouncing that 'to require from Catholics active assistance in the maintenance of the present state of affairs would be an absurd and irrational demand.' By this unquestionable decree, and in no other manner, are all Catholics bound to measure their obligations as good citizens and as sons of Italy."

Of all the members of the Sacred College, Cardinal Capecelatro has assuredly the most exalted mind and perhaps the noblest nature. He is also a writer of the highest order. Cardinal Parocchi is highly cultured, speaks well, and is influenced by modern doctrines. These two are the most enlightened of the great Senate of the Church; but no one would venture to affirm that one or the other will be the successor to Leo XIII., and Mgr.

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Parocchi is still less likely to be chosen than Mgr. Capecelatro, as he is regarded almost as an invalid, and is confined to the Chancellery, the only one among the ecclesiastical Congregations which does not exert any direct influence upon the government of the Catholic Church.

There are four Cardinals who are considered to be *"papabili"* at the present day: Girolamo Gotti, Serafino Vannutelli, Domenico Svampa and Giuseppe Sarto. The first of these is sixty-seven years of age, a native of Genoa, and Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. He is a Brother of the Order of Barefooted Carmelites, and was for a short period Apostolic Delegate in Brazil. Mgr. Vannutelli is of the same age; he was born at Gennazzano, a country town near Palestrina; he was Nuncio at Brussels and Vienna, and at the present day he is Chief Penitentiary and Bishop of Frascati. Mgr. Svampa is Archbishop of Bologna, and is only fifty-two years old. Mgr. Sarto, who is Patriarch of Venice, is sixty-five; he has been in turn parish priest and bishop, and, like Mgr. Gotti, is of humble birth. It would be a mistake to argue from their *"papabilità"* that these are the Cardinals pre-eminent in intellectual powers. The most cultured Cardinals are, as has been already said, Capecelatro and Parocchi; and of all the Cardinals who were Nuncios, there are several who have given evidence of greater capacity than either Vannutelli or Gotti. But it is necessary to recollect that the Sacred College is an elective body, and, as is the case in all such assemblies, good fortune and merit do not always go together. Mgr. Gotti is of a cold and impenetrable nature, full of scruples and prejudice; he is a violent anti-American; and, if he were Pope, he would very likely abandon the prudent line of conduct followed by Leo XIII. with regard to American affairs, and would create a great disturbance, perhaps even having recourse to extreme measures. In other respects, he would most probably adhere to the policy of Leo XIII., particularly as he is a great friend of Cardinal Rampolla. It is to be remarked that, ever since the time when the opinion first gained ground that Mgr. Gotti might be the future Pope, he has deliberately surrounded himself with the greatest mystery. He speaks in public as little as possible: he avoids company, and is not held in great esteem in his own Congregation. He often appears to be vacillating and timorous, occasionally almost without any

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force of will whatever. He formerly held the position of Professor of Mathematics in a college at Genoa, but otherwise he does not appear to be a man of exalted mental powers.

The other three Cardinals considered as *"papabili"* are all of a less intolerant tendency than Mgr. Gotti. They are bishops, and the government of their dioceses causes them to live more in contact with the world, and thus renders them more disposed to recognize some of the claims of modern society. Cardinal Svampa appears to be favored by the prophecy of Mgr. Malachy, the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh, who was one of the greatest personalities in the Catholic Church of Ireland. Four centuries and a half after his death, a prophetic work was attributed to him on the subject of the Popes, from Celestino II. to the supposed end of the world, which, according to Mgr. Malachy, will take place during the next century. This work was published in 1595 by a Cassinese monk, Father Vyon, and was in its turn confuted by another monk, Father Menestrier. These prophecies, although generally held to be apocryphal, exercise a species of superstitious influence in the Curia. The prophecy referring to the 262d Pope, who was Pius IX., is contained in the motto, *"Crux de cruce."* The motto, *"Lumen in coelo,"* refers to the 263d Pope, Leo XIII., while *"Ignis ardens"* stands for the next Pontiff. The explanations of these mottoes are most wildly extravagant in many cases. *"Crux de cruce"* is said to refer to Pius IX., because he lost the temporal power; *"Lumen in coelo"* to Leo XIII., because there is a star in his coat-of-arms; and *"Ignis ardens"* to the Archbishop of Bologna, because he is named Svampa (Extinction) and his arms are a burning torch; but this motto might also be applied to Cardinal Vannutelli, whose name is Serafino, which means "inflamed with divine zeal." Mgr. Svampa rules well at Bologna, just as Cardinal Sarto rules well at Venice. If Mgr. Vannutelli were Pope, he would have the efficent aid of his very clever brother Vincenzo, formerly secretary to Cardinal Antonelli, and an experienced man of the world.

The tendencies which will dispute for the pre-eminence in the future Conclave are these: (1.) either no deviation from the policy of Leo XIII., or (2.) a gradual change; (3.) the assertion of the claim for the restoration of temporal power, together with a disinclination to sacrifice all else to this one point, as has been done by Leo XIII. As an extreme concession, the

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new Pope might carry on the contest on legal grounds, abolishing the "*non expedit*," and encouraging Italian Catholics to take part in political elections. But I dread the predominance of the first of these tendencies, favored as it is by the nomination of the new Cardinals, who show more devotion to Cardinal Rampolla, to whom they believe they owe the purple, than to Leo XIII.

Cardinal Rampolla is the impersonation of Leo XIII.'s policy of late years, perhaps even more markedly than Mgr. Antonelli was the impersonation of the policy of Pius IX. He is not an extraordinarily gifted man, nor yet a man of strongly marked character; he is a blind Conservative and a jealous enemy of the new order of things in Italy, his aversion being strengthened by the natural obstinacy of his Sicilian nature. He is a skilful flatterer of the Pope, and thus has gained his good graces—apparently, but not really, placing himself and his own wishes in the background. He seems only made for service, and yet he gives orders to every one. For fourteen years he has watched the increasing senility of Leo XIII. and the decay of his will, and has gradually attained his present position, above all maintaining the Pope in sentiments of hostility toward Italy. But the supreme power of Cardinal Rampolla, in which he may be said to be unsurpassed, lies in dissimulation. He simulates modesty, and he is haughty; he simulates gentleness, and nobody can move him; he simulates charity, and it is useless to have recourse to him for charitable objects. He receives about 100,000 lire yearly from various sources, holding the most lucrative post in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He is a man without friendships, emotions, or impulses of generosity or affection. He is most tenacious in his dislikes.

There are not a few who fear lest Cardinal Rampolla may aspire to the Papacy. This is very possible, and he might obtain a certain number of votes; but he would not receive as many as are necessary for election. The danger of his becoming Pope would unite all those Cardinals who have no *parti pris*. He might count upon the votes of the Cardinals of Spain, where he has been Nuncio; and possibly also on those of the French Cardinals, as he has always had Francophile tendencies, urging the Pope toward that complete surrender to the republic which amazed the world and did not further the political aims of Leo XIII., still less the cause of religion in France. However, the

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events now taking place in that country are alienating the French clergy and episcopate more and more from the policy of Leo XIII., who uttered no word of protest against the violence uniformly displayed toward the Assumptionists, nor yet against the new law directed against religious Congregations. Mgr. Rampolla might perhaps count upon the votes of the more obscure Italian Cardinals of recent nomination, but the same thing might happen to him as happened to Cardinal Lambruschini in the Conclave of Pius IX. Mgr. Lambruschini had been Secretary of State to Gregory XVI., and his partisans canvassed for votes in his name at the time of the first scrutiny: this demonstration, however, had the effect of hastening the election and of diverting votes to the Cardinal of whom no one was thinking, Mgr. Mastai-Ferretti, Bishop of Imola, who became Pius IX.

The new Pope will be an Italian, and the next Conclave will be held at Rome. Although the number of foreign Cardinals is but little inferior to that of the Italians, it is not at all to be feared that the choice will fall upon a foreign Cardinal. There is no possibility of an understanding between the foreign Cardinals, for either they are not mutually acquainted, or they are severed by irreconcilable racial and national aversions; indeed, apart from these differences, it is not possible for the Sacred College to divide into two groups, leaving foreigners on the one side and Italians on the other; and even were they thus to separate, neither group could elect a Pope independently. The one party is necessary to the other, as two-thirds of the votes are necessary for election.

Neither will it happen in the future Conclave that any one of the three Catholic Powers will exercise the right of *veto*, the effect of which would be the election either of the Cardinal attacked by it, or another of the same views. At the present day, the three nations which used to possess this right, and made use of it on a few occasions, are in very different circumstances. France is a Radical Republic; Spain is a Parliamentary government, and therefore subject to party changes, and it is impossible to say what party will be in power at the death of Leo XIII. Austria-Hungary alone might exercise this right, or rather the Emperor might exercise it independently of his ministers; but, we repeat, it would indubitably produce the contrary effect. The right of *veto* used to attack, not the Pontiff, but the Italian Sov-

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ereign, when the circumstances of the Peninsula were different, and Austria-Hungary, Spain and France contended for dominion and influence over it.

More than twenty-three years have passed since Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci was crowned Pope, and he is ninety-one years old. As he is the only Pope who has exceeded ninety years of age, he takes a position among the very few who have rivalled St. Peter in length of rule. Leo XIII. has already surpassed the pontificates of Urban VIII., of Alexander III., and of Clement XI.; and among the 263 Popes whom the Church has possessed, his length of reign has been exceeded by those of only three Popes, Pius VI., Pius VII., and Pius IX.; but in five months he will have exceeded the pontificate of Pius VII., and in a year that of Pius VI. Very probably, Leo XIII. will survive the three remaining cardinals of Pius IX., who are no longer young, since Mgr. Parocchi is sixty-eight years of age, Mgr. Oreglia seventy-three, and Mgr. Ledochowski seventy-nine. In that case, it may be that he will follow the example of Urban VIII., in coining a medal commemorating the renovation of the entire Sacred College, with the following motto addressed to the Cardinals: *"Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos."*

R. DE CESARE.

Rome, March 3d, 1901.

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DETECTIVE SURVEILLANCE OF ANARCHISTS.

BY ROBERT A. PINKERTON, ONE OF THE HEADS OF THE PINKERTON NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY.

THE police control of anarchists, while by no means a simple matter, may yet be accomplished. To make it effective, however, several fundamental conditions must be observed. The matter must be undertaken in a clean-cut, businesslike manner and the system kept absolutely free from the taint of political influence.

The great trouble with our National Government Detective Service to-day is that politics figure largely in the appointments, and this must result in a lack of efficiency and discipline wherever they take up investigations of plottings by anarchists.

It is perhaps too late to discuss the terrible calamity of President McKinley's assassination, but it points such a strong moral that the circumstances surrounding it ought not to be lost sight of. With a properly trained and disciplined force of protectors for the President on that day, I believe the tragedy might have been prevented. The first principle of Police guardianship, such as was entrusted to those guarding the President, is to watch the *hands* of all comers. This is a police axiom that is supposed to be drilled into the minds of all men who have to do this class of work. The hand is the machine and the only machine with which damage can be inflicted. Whether a man is to throw a bomb, or to use a knife, or to fire a pistol, whatever the means of assault, it must be carried out with the hand. Therefore, supervise and control the hands of people surrounding the person to be guarded, and you take a long step toward protecting that person from harm.

Where assassination is intended, it is impossible to guarantee absolute protection. A man may be "picked off" with a rifle at a less or greater distance, or he may be fired on from above while

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passing through the streets, or beneath a balcony, or a mine may be exploded under him, but against such an assault as was committed on President McKinley by the anarchist, Czolgosz, it is, I believe, possible to guard absolutely with careful, quick-witted men, fully instructed as to their duties, who, although there may be no apprehension of danger in the minds of the general public, are there at all times ever on the alert for just such an attack as that at Buffalo. It would seem that the guards in attendance upon the President that fateful day should have halted Czolgosz the very minute they noticed him in the line with a covered hand, especially a covered right hand. If the hand was really an injured one, no great commotion need have resulted from the act of halting him, but had a concealed weapon been disclosed, as it doubtless would have been at Buffalo, the disturbance arising from the assassin's being discovered would probably have saved the President's life. One minute's inspection would have revealed the assassin's intent and at least an effort would have been made to make him harmless.

The heads of our Government Secret Service, as a rule, have been men of standing and efficiency; their work heretofore has mainly been the suppression of counterfeiting and frauds against the Government. Appropriations have been too small for what was expected of them, and they have been greatly handicapped by being obliged to appoint their subordinates on political recommendations from men with but little or no experience to fit them for this important service.

There is no intention of, in any way, impugning the present Chief of the United States Secret Service, who, although not having been previously engaged in Police or Detective Service, has proven his capability for the position he holds, but the department of which he is the head has had but very little to do with anarchists, and, as at present organized, I do not believe it would be in a condition to handle this important problem. It would require a thorough reorganization, a large increase in the present force, no little legislation, and a large additional appropriation before much could be done toward controlling or eradicating the dangerous anarchists we have here now as well as those who are coming here in greater or less numbers at all times, and who, of late years, have seemed to do most of their plotting in this country.

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If the Government is to take an active hand in the suppression of anarchism, I would advocate the forming of a special department for this purpose, whose whole attention could, at all times, be given to this very serious question.

The anarchists are something like the old "Mollie Maguires" of Pennsylvania. They have their outer and inner circles. The "Mollie Maguires," who were a band of cut-throats and murderers, were recruited from among the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians; in fact, they were really an inner circle of that Order. To be a "Mollie Maguire," a man had to be in the first place an Irishman; in the second place a Roman Catholic (at least in name, although if discovered he had no standing with the Church); and in the third place, a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. These conditions were thoroughly well known, and brought odium both to the Hibernians and the Church; yet none of our citizens hated "Mollie Maguirism" and all that it represented and did more in the effort to suppress the evil or fought it more fiercely than the great body of good Catholics and the vast majority of members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Nevertheless, these two bodies constituted outer circles and safe recruiting grounds which made possible the great strength of the "Mollie Maguires." Under the cloak of protection of religion and of fealty to the fraternal order, it was possible to select those deemed desirable members of the inner circle, to observe them closely, to study their peculiarities, to learn their characters at close range and under the best conditions, and all this without exposing the secrets or manœuvres of the inner circle.

When it came to breaking up the "Mollie Maguires," all sorts of measures and plans were resorted to by the men who undertook the task, but it was not until the Church recognized its inability to suppress these bands of murderers by excommunication or by any other means at its command, that they finally gave their consent to the work being done in other ways. It was only then that success was even remotely possible.

Instead of operating under ordinarily accepted detective methods, it was recognized that a man was needed who was an Irishman and a Roman Catholic, and that he would have to become a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the coal region. It required something more than mere pecuniary reward

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to secure the right sort of person for this task. The man had to feel that he was serving his church, his race and his country; otherwise, it would be impossible to get any one to undertake a work which invited death by assassination. Such a man was found in James McParland, connected with our service, who, once he consented to undertake the work, could be relied upon implicitly.

With the anarchists, a diligent and systematic search will not fail to bring to the surface those similarly qualified, who can join groups wherever formed. There would, of course, be lacking the strong religious sentiment and loyalty to the church that actuated the man who risked his life to weed out the "Mollie Maguires"; nevertheless, it will be possible to secure the desired persons. The great majority of anarchists in this country and abroad are a sufficiently harmless body of men and women. They have what they consider advanced ideas on government, or lack of government, but are unalterably opposed to all forms of murder and violence. They realize that such an event as the assassination of President McKinley or of the King of Italy does more harm to their propaganda than anything else that can happen. Therefore, they are violently opposed to the perpetration of these deeds, and those who inspire them. From among this class of anarchists, there doubtless could be secured the material needed for the control and supervision of the "Reds," as the members of the violent branch of anarchists are popularly denominated. New members could join, in time, the most dangerous groups, who would have no feeling of sympathy with them. There is no such organization among anarchists as there was among the "Mollie Maguires," nothing so secret and efficient, and oath-bound and virulent. But there is yet sufficient organization to assure us that plots are bred and that a dangerous propaganda is systematically promulgated.

I do not believe that the man Czolgosz carried out a plot, or that he had any accomplices; in my opinion, he was simply an impressionable creature who was carried off his mental balance by the teachings of the rabid anarchists of the Goldman, Lucy Parsons, Most school. The assassination of King Humbert was, on the other hand, undoubtedly the result of a carefully hatched plot emanating from the "Reds" who have groups throughout this country. But while these two assassinations were brought about

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by different methods, they might have been prevented by proper police control in the first instance. Competent emissaries in the camps of the "Reds" would have been informed of the plot against the King of Italy, and Bresci and the whole nest of murderers could have been nabbed before they had a chance to carry out their design. In the case of Czolgosz, he could have been kept free from the influences that made him a murderer if the police powers of the country had had sufficient information and sufficient initiative to act. A man on the inside could have landed information years ago that would have put Goldman, and the other preachers of anarchy who inspired Czolgosz, within the hands of the law. These people are constantly talking violence and the overthrow of government. Of late years, since one or two of them, like Most and Goldman, have had a dose of prison for their firebrand utterances, they have been more careful as to the things they say in public; but, in private, there is no doubt that their fulminations are more violent than ever. A service such as I have indicated should be established to keep the authorities in complete touch with these private utterances, which travel as fast and breed as much damage in the end as speeches made in public. As for open fulminations, these should be placed entirely under the ban, and the police should be given practically unlimited powers to deal with the men and women concerned. It should be impossible to have such a spectacle as is at times seen in Chicago, where women of the stripe of Lucy Parsons, since the execution of her anarchistic husband, and Emma Goldman have openly preached violence and murder. Kindly or half-way measures are thrown away entirely upon the "Reds." They understand only one argument, and that is the argument of brute force. It is all very well to safeguard the rights of free speech and of free press; but sentimentalism in this direction should not be permitted to carry so far as to allow the open, or secret, advocacy of the overthrow of all government. Only a systematic campaign against this sort of thing can avert a serious condition, for these anarchists are becoming more and more numerous, and those of the violent school are growing steadily bolder. They do not appreciate indulgence. This was shown plainly enough in the case of the assassination of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago. Harrison was the great advocate of free speech and absolute license for the disorderly element of which the "Reds" form a part. He

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was perpetually preaching about their rights of assemblage and free speech. His reward was assassination, not by an avowed anarchist, but by a man who had such a total disregard for law and order as the anarchists are constantly pointing to as the desirable condition.

In a broader sense, we have had an illustration of the evils that grow out of the indulgence granted to anarchists here, and the lack of a system of control. The nations of Europe have practically combined to force these people to the wall. Instead of joining with them in the effort, we have given the anarchists an asylum here, with the result that they plotted the murder of the King of Italy under our protection, and are permitted to promulgate the doctrines that brought about the murder of our own President. Now that we have these lessons, it is to be hoped that we will change our tactics; that we will deal with these people vigorously, as we should, and that we will co-operate with the foreign governments for the extinction of anarchy and anarchists, and that we will have a comprehensive system of our own.

At the very beginning, there ought to be a law passed to permit the deportation of every man and woman who preaches the overthrow of government and the principles of anarchy. Instead of having any squeamish scruples, we should attack the evil in a rough-handed, common-sense way. I would advocate the establishment of an anarchist colony, a place where every person who wants anarchy can have it. Let the government set aside one of the islands of the Philippines, equip it thoroughly with appliances for tilling the soil, erect comfortable houses, and provide other necessary conveniences, even to the extent of expensive comforts; then to this place let us send everybody who wants anarchy; put them all on one island, and let them work it out among themselves. Have no restrictions at all; let them govern themselves, or refrain from governing themselves, as they see fit. Leave them severely alone on their island, taking care only that they remain there by establishing a system of patrol boats around it. I know of no other single experiment that would be at once so healthful for this country as such a settlement, and so instructive to the anarchists themselves and the world at large as to how their opportunities for individualism and freedom from government restraint would work out. It may be that there is no warrant under our present system of law and government for

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the establishment of such a colony; but, in the present mood of the public mind towards anarchy, it seems to me that it would not be difficult to induce Congress to permit an experiment such as I have suggested. There we could send our Goldmans and our Mosts and our Parsons, and all the other ranters who are constantly striving to tear down what has been so laboriously built up, and who, in doing so, are raising up a constantly growing army of danger-breeding converts. In time of war the government does not hesitate to protect itself by adopting all sorts of measures. Why not, then, adopt a measure such as this in the face of a condition that is more dangerous in some respects than open warfare, because of the insidiousness of its character and the uncertainty of knowing just where to look for danger. In Europe anarchy has been accepted as a real and tangible menace to government. Here we are still carried away by the fetish of free speech and unrestricted discussion to such an extent that we give absolute liberty to a class of people who are a danger to our institutions and a disgrace to our nation.

The value of a restrictive system applied to anarchy is observable in the conditions that prevail in New York City. There the police have always carried on a relentless warfare against the "Reds." They have even gone to the length of "illegally suppressing their meetings." On one occasion, I remember, when a lot of anarchistic sentiments were being shouted from a speaker's stand in Union Square, the police, without warrant, descended upon the meeting and broke it up. This was reprehensible from the standpoint of the stickler for social and political rights; but there are certain conditions that cannot be dealt with from the ordinary point of view, and anarchy is one of them. Where that comes into question, we may well permit the authorities to stretch a point for its repression. The activity of the New York police has had the effect of keeping the anarchists in that city bottled up during the past ten years; so that, while we have had the spectacle of "Reds" shouting in Chicago and most of the other big cities, they have sung very small indeed in the metropolis. This, to my mind, is a strong argument for the application of radical measures in their treatment. The principals are never the ones to go forward and do the deeds which they advocate; yet, as in the Czolgosz case, the real guilt lies with those who preach the doctrine of murder and violence and treason against

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the government much more truly than with the half-witted instruments who are instigated to do the work. Under a proper system of espionage, carefully controlled, it would be easily possible to get at these leaders, many of whom are men and women of brain power decidedly above the average. The picture of the anarchist drawn by most people, a bearded, drunken, lazy creature, is not at all in line with the facts. Many of the most advanced men in the movement do not drink at all, and know so well how to keep their mouths shut that only the initiated know of their connection with anarchy. Men of the Most stripe, and women of the Goldman type, it is comparatively easy to control. They make no secret of their beliefs and restrain their tongues only in so far as they deem it necessary to keep out of the clutches of the law. It is the quiet, cultivated element behind the loud-mouthed tribe that furnishes the sinews of war and that remains entirely beyond the cognizance of the police system as now constituted. To get at them requires clever work and a great deal of patience.

Not the least dangerous thing about this anarchistic movement that seems to be spreading steadily is the fact that so little concerning it is really known to the outside world. Even the European governments seem to have been unable, with all their machinery, to get at the bottom of it. As for America, the people here seem to have regarded it as very much in the nature of some harmless excrescence bordering here and there almost on a joke. In the comic papers the anarchist, with us, has been a constant source of innocent amusement. It required the awful lesson of President McKinley's assassination to arouse the people to the real dangers that lurk in the movement.

The Haymarket massacre in Chicago ought to have been a lesson to the whole nation. Unfortunately, it was looked upon as a purely local ebullition, something peculiar to Chicago and her cosmopolitan make-up. The lesson given by the hanging of the anarchists concerned in the Haymarket affair was largely nullified by the subsequent pardoning of the men who escaped from the gallows and were sent to prison. That act had a decided tendency to revive the spirits of the anarchists and to bring to our shores many of the dangerous fanatics who were driven out of Europe. It is doubtful if any one has a conception of the strength of the anarchistic movement in America. The evidences that come to

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the surface in places like Chicago and Paterson are taken as sporadic cases, whereas, an investigation would probably reveal the fact that every city in the country has a considerable number of "Reds" among its citizens. These people should all be marked and kept under constant surveillance and on the slightest excuse be made harmless.

Unlike any other evil that threatens in the open, anarchy is in a great measure irresponsible, and, therefore, only the most drastic and forehanded measures have any effect in keeping it under control. Such measures are possible only if we can arouse the public sentiment sufficiently to secure the organization of a perfect system of police control, a system that would never lose touch with the anarchists already established here, and that would pick up any foreigners that might come as soon as they reached any of our ports. Such a system, reinforced by the establishment of a colony in the Philippines on the lines suggested, would go far toward coping with the evil of anarchy that is at present afflicting us.

ROBT. A. PINKERTON.

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AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN TURKEY.

BY URBAIN GOHIER.

THE critical situation of the Eastern question at this moment, the possibility of European intervention in the East, with France as a strong factor, the continuance of the Armenian atrocities—all make a consideration of the Turkish Government's past and present attitude toward Europe and America of grave importance just now. Furthermore, the material injury suffered from time to time by citizens of the United States in the Ottoman Empire give at once a right and an opportunity to the Government of the great Republic to assert itself in forcible language at Constantinople. However, some timorous and pacifically-minded individuals maintain that the United States would do better to wipe out the remembrance of their grievances, that the incidents that have taken place in Turkey are not worth the risk of an appeal to arms, and that Americans would be doing wrong to meddle with European affairs, determined as they are to permit no European interference in their own concerns.

I will not take the liberty of expressing an opinion on such present matters as the disappearance of Miss Stone. I will only recall what passed not long ago, in reference to what is happening to-day, and suggest to the citizens of the United States the idea of an intervention which would be both legitimate and honorable, and almost, indeed, a conscientious duty. I allude to the Armenian atrocities.

The American missionaries have related to their fellow-countrymen the events of which the unfortunate Armenian nation has been the victim in recent years. From 1892 to 1894 the systematic destruction of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire commenced by a series of isolated murders that were invariably committed with impunity. After 1894 the Turkish Government

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proceeded to massacres on a grand scale, sometimes in the various provinces of Asia Minor and sometimes in Constantinople itself. The details of these abominations are recorded to the everlasting shame of Europe in the telegrams and correspondence of the Ambassadors and Consuls of all nationalities, in the *Blue Books* of England, the *Yellow Books* of France, and the *Green Books* of Italy.

In 1897 the number of the slain of every age, sex and condition was estimated at 300,000. Since then the murders have been less frequent, but they have never entirely ceased. These hundreds of thousands of victims were butchered with extraordinary refinements of cruelty, which can only be compared to the tortures invented by the Indians and the torments inflicted on French soldiers in Algerian prisons by military autocrats. Numerous towns and countless villages have disappeared from the map by reason of the annihilation of their population. Everywhere women, young girls and boys suffered frightful outrages before death; those who were spared were sold as slaves in the markets of Asia and dispersed among the harems. Children were cut in pieces on their fathers' knees. In a single church at Orfa the butchers burned alive three thousand women and young girls with petroleum. The treatment undergone by these people cannot be described in print. Everywhere priests were flayed alive, hung up by the feet, and smoked like swine. Often the murderers tore out the eyes of their prisoners, and only finished them with the bayonet after untold torture. Some were made to dig their own graves before being forced into them with knives and sabres. This last feature, by the way, has not even the merit of novelty; it had been employed in the suppression of the Paris Commune by the Marquis de Galliffet, late Minister of War in France.

The published report in 1897 that 300,000 victims had fallen was not a mere surmise. It was founded on reliable statements made systematically in the different localities, verified by the Consuls, and repeated and subscribed to by the Ambassadors.

For instance, at Biredjik there were 8,000 slain and 400 forced conversions to Islam. Every one knows that these "conversions" are made at the sword point, and that this Mohammedan baptism bestowed under such conditions frequently entails the death of the new "convert." In the district of Sairt

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there were 15,000 slain, 19,000 "converted" and 2,500 women carried off. In the district of Silouan, 4,000 slain and 7,000 "converted"; in the district of Severek, 1,000 slain and 2,500 "converted"; in the district of Palon, six villages destroyed, and 14,000 Armenians missing. All who had not perished by the sword starved to death in the mountain caves *(Blue Book,* 1896). And so on through all the provinces of the Empire.

At Van the butchery lasted eight whole days under the direction of the Turkish Major Halim-Effendi, formerly notorious for the massacres at Sassoun. The Armenians for once attempted a defence; whereupon the Turks employed their cannon by the orders of Saadeddin Pasha, the special delegate of His Imperial Majesty. Three thousand houses were set on fire, ten thousand men shot, and the male children sawn asunder. The wandering tribes of the Persian frontier armed by the said Saadeddin Pasha then moved up to finish the work of destruction so ably commenced by the regular troops. But the soldiers not caring to share their booty checked the advance of these jackals. "Then," relates a missionary who was an eye-witness, "the Kurds were forced to retreat. Furious at this obstruction, and with their minds set on butchery and pillage, they revenged themselves on the fertile plain of Van. Descending on the Armenian villages unawares in obedience to the word of command they massacred all the male Armenians over ten years of age. The young girls and women were carried off, and horrible atrocities were committed on them as well as on the children. . . . All the churches and convents of this ancient province of Armenia were sacked and destroyed or set on fire.

"The number of victims surpasses all imagination. Information from a Persian source which would scarcely be suspected of partiality gives them as 12,000; but we have reason to believe that these figures fall short of the reality. The calculations of eye-witnesses estimate them as more than 20,000. We do not here include those who were forcibly converted to Islamism and only spared after having been circumcised. . . .

"At present a state of terrible misery exists in the Armenian population of Van and throughout this unfortunate province. Thousands of wretched beings enter the town every day in the hope of receiving a dole of bread from the missionaries. Alas! not a single young girl or young woman can be found among

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this crowd of unhappy creatures. They have all been carried off by their tormentors, who have either kept them for themselves, or have gone as far as the Persian markets to sell them. Many among them have chosen a voluntary death; the others have fallen a prey to the basest kind of dishonor and slavery. Each of their Turkish and Kurdish invaders, officers as well as civil functionaries, has several in his harem."

At Constantinople itself the massacre was carried on under the eyes of the Ambassadors of the Powers, first in 1895, and again in 1896. From the 26th to the 28th of August, 1896, at least 7,000 Armenians perished under the cudgels of the butchers. The slaughter was systematically arranged by the Government. The houses occupied by those who were doomed had been marked beforehand by the local authorities. In the quarters where there were Greeks and other foreigners living among the Armenians no mistakes occurred. The murderers invariably proceeded in the same manner, forcing the victim to his knees or flat on his face and then striking his head with cudgels until it was reduced to pulp. These sticks were of a uniform pattern; they had been made in the arsenals of the Imperial navy, distributed to the murderers by the police and collected by the same police after the work was done. The regular soldiers did not take part in the massacre, but they mounted guard round the quarters where the slaughter was going on and cut off the escape of the fugitives.

It must be understood that the Turkish Government has never been able to invoke the excuse of a popular rising or an outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism. The Turkish nation, generally speaking, is honest, loyal and peaceable; it is in no way responsible for these horrors. The entire responsibility rests with the Sultan, who willed them, ordered them and organized them, and who is just as guilty as if he had plunged the knife with his own hand into the throat of every one of his 300,000 victims. As at Constantinople the butchery in the provinces was commanded and directed by the civil or military authorities. The signal was given by the sounding of trumpets; official emissaries spread abroad the word of command: "The Master has given permission to kill the Armenians." When the execution was considered sufficient the same emissaries cried, "Iassak! iassak!" (it is forbidden)—and the murderers stopped at once. There was not a trace of popular fanaticism. On the contrary,

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some Mohammedans saved Armenians. At Cæsarea, an officer of high rank belonging to the garrison was going to prevent the massacre, when the Imperial officials sent him back to the barracks. At Van the Governor who had acted in a lukewarm fashion fell from favor, while the special delegate from Constantinople who presided pitilessly over the extermination received the Grand Order of Nicham Imtiaz. This is exactly the same decoration as was offered by the Sultan to M. Loubet, President of the French Republic, at a time when French soldiers had just shot twenty French workmen at Martinique.

How is it that such events were possible in the presence of all Europe on the verge of the twentieth century? There is a curious sound about the humanitarian harangues of European sovereigns and ministers in congresses, expositions and elsewhere, when one considers that these heads of the different States are on the most cordial terms with the monster whom Mr. Gladstone called "The Great Assassin," that they send Ambassadors to him, exchange civilities and gifts with him, while they all remained deaf, mute and impassive when there arose from the extremity of Europe the terrible death cry of 300,000 martyrs! Europe kept silence during the great massacres. She continues to keep silence still.

The fact is that the "Bloodstained Sultan" is fabulously rich. Abandoning a portion of the booty to the robbers drawn from all ranks of society—from the throne to the lowest of the people—he has drained the wealth of his whole Empire and amassed for himself a colossal treasure which he administers, it must be owned, like an excellent man of business. He is one of the greatest capitalists in the world. By dint of confiscations he has become the owner of about a sixth part of the Ottoman territories. With his immense revenue he maintains round his palace an army of spies, guards and informers, who individually watch every person living at Constantinople and who also watch each other. Throughout Europe Abd-ul-Hamid also maintains hired partisans, ministers, politicians and journalists. In France alone there were seventeen leading newspapers notoriously paid to suppress the truth. Thus the conspiracy of silence was organized. The feat of slaughtering a whole nation without the cognizance of other nations was actually accomplished. At the time of the worst massacres the *Petit Journal,* which has by far the largest

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circulation of any French newspaper and is the only one familiar to the ignorant masses, announced from time to time that "the Armenian rebels had attempted to kill some inoffensive Turks." The Sultan was well served.

I am unable to explain what proceedings the Turkish sovereign employed in order to insure the tacit complicity of other governments than that of France. But all France knows to-day how he obtained the assistance of our Republic. At this period we twice had for our Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Gabriel Hanotaux, who appeared later as one of the guilty parties in the abominable Dreyfus affair and who dishonored the signature of France in the negotiations relative to Madagascar. It is indispensable to recall these two facts in order to explain the attitude of the same personage in the Armenian affairs. M. Hanotaux made his *début* in diplomacy as a subordinate agent at Constantinople. He succeeded in ingratiating himself with Abd-ul-Hamid, who made him one of his firmest adherents.

After becoming Minister for Foreign Affairs like so many other French politicians by a simple Parliamentary shuffle he regularly received dispatches from the East—letters and telegrams from the Consuls, and reports from the Ambassadors—which first announced the Armenian atrocities and then related them in a detailed manner. These messages to the number of 109 fill 150 pages of our great *Yellow Book*. France became acquainted with them two years later. At the time M. Hanotaux suppressed them. When he was questioned before Parliament as to the disturbing rumors from Constantinople or Asia Minor he gave his word of honor that "all was going well." The French Ambassador continued writing to him: "The Sultan has lied; the Sultan is lying; his Ambassador at Paris does nothing but lie; the promised reforms are not being carried out; massacres are taking place throughout the Empire." M. Hanotaux hastened to testify to Parliament as to the good faith and humanity of Abd-ul-Hamid and the perfect order reigning in Turkey.

After he had fallen from power he deluged the newspapers and reviews, "armed with the authority of his former office," with enthusiastic and affecting eulogies of the glorious, wise and amiable Sultan. Notably in the *Revue de Paris* he praised his "true qualities of gentleness, generosity and impartiality." Returning to power shortly afterwards he recommenced the same

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game, asserting to the French Chambers the complete tranquillity of the Ottoman provinces at the very time when Evereck, Eghin, and afterwards Orfa, were given over to the flames or drowned in blood.

The case was the same throughout Europe. Great financiers, celebrated engineers, great contractors for public works (parks, lighthouses, railroads, fortresses, military stores) and the chief newspapers interested in all these affairs desired above all that the Sultan should remain absolute lord of his dominions. Concessions and bargains are obtained more easily from an omnipotent despot, whose ministers or favorite eunuchs it suffices to corrupt, than from a government under public control. The Catholic clergy also joined the conspiracy of silence for fear lest the actions of which the Roman monks had been guilty in Asia Minor should be discovered. There were fraternities there whose converts protected by the flag of France were inviolable to the Turks, and these had refused shelter to the Armenian fugitives unless they deserted the religion of their fathers to enter the pale of the Catholic Church. Catholic monks and nuns had been seen to refuse to succor wandering orphans unless they would embrace Catholicism. These scandals had to be concealed. The Pope of Rome, well informed as to the events in the East, did not utter a word in behalf of these 300,000 Christians who were being slaughtered.

As to the Governments of the Great Powers those whose ministers were not in the pay of the Sultan were paralyzed by their diplomatic calculations. None could intervene singly because the others would not have suffered it. None wished to give the others the opportunity for intervention. All the European States look on the Ottoman Empire as a prey the fragments of which they intend to share; but all equally dread the time of the division which will not take place amicably. Each one endeavors to secure a privileged position by gaining the good graces of the Sultan, and he takes advantage of their selfish complaisance to commit the most frightful crimes with impunity. The intervention of Europe would have been all the more legitimate as it could be based upon treaties. At the Berlin Congress the Powers had entered upon a formal engagement for the protection of the Armenians. They had exacted from the Sultan formal engagements for the reformation of his Empire. In arresting the

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arm of the assassin raised against the victim they would have been doing nothing more than respecting their own word and their own signatures. Thus the venality of some, the cowardice of others and the egoistic calculations of all rendered it possible for a whole people to be exterminated in the sight of "civilized" Europe—not a tribe of savages rebellious against assimilation and progress, but a civilized, cultured and peaceful nation, bearing an honorable name in history in the exercise of religion and Christian principles! And the crime is still going on! The series of great massacres appears to be at an end, but local murders have not ceased. Last winter 40,000 Armenian orphans perished on the roads of Asia Minor; Turkish officials organized a famine in the Armenian districts by exacting the forced sale of all the corn at an absurdly small rate in order to sell it back to the inhabitants at six times the price. One portion of the Ottoman nation is now a cause of terror and an object of hatred to the Sultan in the same degree as the Armenians. This is the enlightened class known as the "Young Turk" party, who patriotically aim at the reconstruction of Turkey on the lines of civilized life. Fifty thousand of these Turks, *Mohammedans*, have perished in the last four or five years in prison, in secret dungeons, in the Bosphorus and in the deadly provi es of Arabia, whither they are driven by the mad fury of Abd-ul-Hamid. In the very heart of the Old World at the point where Asia, Europe and Africa unite, a portion of humanity is struggling and perishing in the grip of a monster.

Would it not be a worthy endeavor for the United States to attempt what Europe has declined to do?

At the very moment of ostentatiously sending their representatives to The Hague, there to utter platonic discourses on the benefits of peace, the European Powers had passed over the events in the East in silence—events that, indeed, may be the cause of war in the future. At a time when the citizens of the United States are divided on the subject of Imperialism and wars of conquest, could they not agree upon the expediency of a purely unselfish military manifestation? If horrible war could ever be justified, it would be with the idea of doing service to humanity and civilization. In the intervention of the United States at Constantinople there could be no ambiguity possible; their disinterestedness would be manifest. And the name of war need

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not even be pronounced. The American navy is powerful, while a Turkish navy scarcely exists. Where is, then, the possibility of war? There must be two to make a fight. To show the Bloodstained Sultan a few battleships and warn him that every human head that falls under the knives of his assassins will be paid for by the destruction of one of his palaces—this would not be the work of a conqueror, but the action of a noble heart.

For the great American nation the risk would be *nil,* the cost insignificant and the glory infinite. It would show that its prodigious material wealth has not stifled feelings of chivalry; it would give a fine lesson of human solidarity to effete Europe; and it would save a Christian people who, repulsed by its pretended brethren and protectors in the Old World, has no longer any direction in which to turn on earth for help but towards the United States.

URBAIN GOHIER.

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THE ETHICAL FUNCTIONS OF FOOT-BALL.

BY CHARLES F. THWING, LL. D., PRESIDENT OF WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE, CLEVELAND.

I HAVE before written of foot-ball as a game of brains and also as a game of hearts. I now wish to write of foot-ball in a relation yet more important. I desire to present some of its ethical relations and functions.

First. Foot-ball represents the inexorable. It embraces things that must be done at specific times, places and in specific ways.

College life has its social side, and the social side is of importance. For this side represents such minor or major graces as gentleness, sweetness and graciousness itself. Never are these conditions to be depreciated. They are ever to be assessed at their full value and their full value is very high. But college life, like all life, has another side. It has a side and relation which demand the hardness and endurance of the soldier. It has a side which is built up of mighty *musts*. This side is represented by foot-ball. Every member of the eleven must train, must practice, must endure risks, must mingle with his fellows, must keep his temper, and must obey his captain.

From the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top of a high wall of heavy obligations the foot-ball man is constantly and unerringly obliged to go. I believe that the chief, if not the only, basis of the charge which is sometimes brought against the college, that it unfits a man for life, lies in the substitution of *may* for *must* in the ordinary scholastic relations. But foot-ball teaches a man the value of the inexorable. It brings each student up short and sharp against laws which are to be absolutely kept. Of such laws life itself is full. Acquaintance with such laws man should make in his youth. The col-

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lege offers the most fitting time and place for making such acquaintance; and foot-ball is among the most fitting of all possible methods and means for making this acquaintance.

Second. Foot-ball illustrates the value of the positive. In the building of character, the negative has some, but slight, value. It represents the more elementary conditions of the ethical process. The Old Testament says "thou shalt not," and this is well; the New Testament says "thou shalt," and this is better. It is well to adopt as one's ethical rule that whatever is not expressly allowed is denied; it is better to adopt as one's ethical rule that whatever is not expressly denied is allowed. Life is to be interpreted as sound, wholesome, righteous, unless there be evidence to the contrary, and never as corrupting, base, wrong, unless there be evidence to the contrary. Such an interpretation creates the highest qualities of health and of healthfulness. Be it said foot-ball embodies and enforces such an interpretation. It emphasizes the aggressive, the forth-putting, the direct, the positive. It teems with the glorious sense of certainty. It embodies Carlyle's "eternal yea." It illustrates the science and art of realism. It embodies actuality. It stands for the perpendicular. It teaches one to do. Its commands are condensed into the command "forward." It bucks, it pushes, it breaks, it runs, it goes; it goes through the line, it goes round the ends, but it goes.

Third. Foot-ball in its ethical relations represents the value of a compelling interest. College life has many interests; most of these interests are good; a few indifferent; and a very few of evil relations. Most students have some share in all that helps to constitute college life, but only a few students have an absorbing interest in any one of these relations. It is well for each man to possess at least one interest which is absorbing. Such an interest develops the conscience and the whole character. It creates force and it also makes more forceful forces already existing. Athletics, and foot-ball in particular, represent a condition well fitted to call out and to develop in a commanding and compelling way the essential powers of the student. I, of course, believe it would be better if scholarship represented this absorbing and compelling interest. It would be well if some great humane movement or institution, such as the college settlement, represented this absorbing or compelling interest. But one takes, and one is glad to take, the college man as he is. One, therefore, uses

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those methods and means with the college student which are the more practicable. Foot-ball represents this method or means; foot-ball absorbs and compels. The objector might possibly say it absorbs too completely and compels too arrogantly. In the case of some students I should agree with the objector, and assent to the value of his objection. But for most men, under conditions existing, foot-ball represents a wholesome method for calling out a compelling interest on the part of the student. For the student, like certain ranges of society, is in peril of the evil of indifferentism. Dry rot is one of the dangers. *Nil admirari* is a not uncommon motto. A lackadaisical lassitude easily touches him. In such a condition foot-ball does for him what calomel did in the old pharmacopœia for the permanent invalid. Speaking of a lazy boy, Emerson said, or is said to have said, "Set a dog on him, send him West, do something to him." Foot-ball accomplishes a result of the kind Emerson wished to accomplish. A father, himself a distinguished publisher, said to me recently that his little baby, of a few days old, seemed at one time to be dying or dead, no breathing could be distinguished; no pulse found. But the nurse took the little weakling by one heel and flung it around several times, making a full circle in the air. The currents of life were set in motion; it revived; it is now living in fatness and health. Foot-ball arouses, absorbs, compels interest.

Fourth. Foot-ball, further, embodies the process of self-discovery. Self-discovery is a condition, but it is more than a condition, it is also a means. All the early years of one's life are years of the revealing of self to self; they are years of self-revelation both as a cause and as a consequence of self-enlargement. What rapture belongs to the true soul in finding he is a larger, stronger, better man than he believed himself to be; what remorse, or at least regret, belongs to the noble soul in finding he is less large, less strong, less good than he believed himself to be. One recalls the chagrin which John Inglesant in Shorthouse's great story experienced in finding that near the close of his career he was inclined to play fast and loose with a temptation which in the earlier time he had sternly resisted. Foot-ball proves to many a man what he is. It makes known to him that he has more or less physical strength than he believed he had. In intellectual vision or prevision it shows him whether he is

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more or less alert; in executive planning and detail it shows him whether he is more or less prompt and able; in heart it shows him whether he is more enthusiastic or more indifferent; and in conscience it also proves to him whether he is more or less righteous than he believed himself to be. Every foot-ball game is a crisis. It not only creates and develops power, it also discovers the possession or the lack of power.

Fifth. The last of the five points of the ethical Calvinism of foot-ball to which I shall allude is self-restraint. Foot-ball develops self-restraint. Self-restraint, or more broadly self-control, is one of the primary signs of the gentleman. It represents the subordination of the less worthy to the more worthy, of the relatively good to the relatively better, of the relatively better to the absolutely best, of meanness to nobility, of the temporal to the eternal, of the narrow to the broad, of indifferentism to the cardinal virtues, verities and graces. Foot-ball demands self-restraint, and therefore it develops self-restraint. For it teems with temptations to be mean. It affords manifold opportunities to do nasty things. These temptations yielded to, these opportunities embraced, character becomes mean and nasty. Some men cannot resist such opportunities and temptations, and such men should never set foot on the gridiron. I recall that in one foot-ball season a Junior, who was one of the best men on the eleven, said to me he had decided to quit playing. In answer to my inquiry respecting the reason, he said he could not keep himself from doing mean things to the man opposite. I was surprised, for I had always judged the student to be a man of fine character. I asked: "But don't the officials keep you from breaking the rules?" "Oh," said he, "I can slug the fellow or kick him, or do him up easily enough, and no official ever be the wiser." I may add that my advice to the student was to stay in the game, and, staying, to make himself a man worthy to play the game. He did stay. In answer to inquiries of mine afterward made, he said he thought he was doing better. The gridiron is a small ethical world, marked all over with the white lines of moral distinctions. It is like an experiment in the laboratory in which certain natural phenomena are segregated in order that the understanding of those phenomena may be more readily acquired. It is a moral apprenticeship, an ethical practice school. It is in ethics what the Socratic thinking shop was supposed to

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be—a training of the individual. Foot-ball thus develops the superb quality of self-restraint. It thus helps to make the finest type of the gentleman.

I know perfectly well that the game of foot-ball as played in American colleges is subject to very serious evils. Let no attempt be made to depreciate the evil of these evils. But these evils, be it said, relate rather to the conduct of the game and its incidental conditions than to its essential elements. Before and above these evils I would emphasize its functions in developing the gentleman of ethical character and conduct. For foot-ball represents the inexorable, it teaches the value of the positive, it illustrates the worth of a compelling interest, it promotes self-discovery, and it disciplines self-restraint.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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THE NATIONAL DEBT OF FRANCE.

BY JULES ROCHE, MEMBER OF THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES AND FORMER MINISTER OF COMMERCE.

Of all countries, France, perhaps, is the one in which the records of national accountability and the form of the budget best permit of reading the state of the debt clearly and completely. It suffices to open the financial law in order immediately to perceive therein at a glance all the expenses imposed upon the government for the services of the debt in all its forms. Take for example the last budget, that of 1900, no longer operative. Article I. of the financial law gives us at once the total of the expenditures necessary for the year, and the figures of the sums previously deducted for the requirements of the debt:

	Francs.
Total expenditures	3,537,751,526
Portion appertaining to the services of the national debt	1,251,870,162

Thus, we see at the first glance that the debt represents for its annual requirements more than a third of the total expenditure of the French government. What is the composition of this debt? To what causes is it due? What is its progress? These are interesting questions that I shall examine in as simple and clear a manner as possible.

The French national debt is divided into three parts: the *funded* debt; the *redeemable* debt, and the *pension list.*

The funded debt is that which is inscribed in the "Ledger of the National Debt" instituted by the law of August 24th, 1793, and of which the government owes its creditors only the interest, without being obliged ever to refund the principal. Nevertheless, it can, if it desires, effect a redemption; but it alone is judge of whether it shall or shall not do so. Its obligation is solely the

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payment of the annual interest. This debt is called also perpetual. It follows that the important figure of this branch of the national debt is that of the interest, and not that of the principal, since the government is debtor only for the interest.

At present the funded debt consists of two sorts of stocks—the 3 and the 3½ per cent. The 3 per cent. stock for the year 1900 required a sum of 454,769,454 francs. That is to say, if the government had wished to wipe out the debt it would have had to pay its creditors a principal of 100 francs as many times as there were 3 francs in the total annual stock above mentioned—a total of 15,158,981,800 francs.

The 3½ per cent. stock required the sum of 237,388,396 francs, and corresponded to a principal of 6,782,525,600 francs.

The total of the sums due for interest on the funded debt for the year 1900, therefore, represented 692,157,850 francs, and the corresponding principal amounted, in round numbers, to 21,941 million francs. The number of stockholders in France is very large. Each of them, therefore, represents, on an average, but a small government indebtedness. The exact number of holders cannot be known; but we do know the number of the stock certificates. One person may own several certificates, and the number of the latter is therefore larger than that of the holders of the same. The number of stock certificates in 1899 amounted to 4,222,377, which gives an average of stock of nearly 164 francs per certificate. This suffices to show how many small stockholders there are in France interested in the public order.

The debt redeemable at maturity or by annuities embraces a certain number of categories—the convertible annuities of the Morgan loan effected during the war of 1870, the annuities to certain railway companies, the interest on the floating debt of the Treasury and on the principal deposited by functionaries who are obliged to furnish security, etc., etc. The total of such sums amounts to 319,900,110 francs, out of which about 95 millions are appropriated to the refunding of the principal and the rest, say 224 millions, to the payment of interest.

The pension list debt comprises all the pensions that are due to civil functionaries and members of the army and navy, and in a word to all those who for any reason whatever have a right to a pension from the government. It comprises also certain sums for relief, but nearly the whole of it is *due* and has no

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optional character. The total for 1900 amounted to 239,812,202 francs, the principal elements of which were as follows:

	Francs.
Civil pensions	75,750,000
War pensions	95,542,000
Naval pensions	37,600,000
Various supplements for the army and navy	12,000,000

It can be definitely seen that the great divisions of the national debt from the viewpoint of annual expenditures are summed up as follows:

	Francs.
Funded debt	692,157,850
Redeemable debt	319,900,110
Pension list debt	239,812,202
Total	1,251,870,162

But a sum of about 95 millions is employed in the refunding of the borrowed principal, and on the other hand the budget receives a sum of about 37 millions derived from the stoppages of the salaries of functionaries who have a right to be retired on a pension. This diminishes the real charges of the Treasury by just so much.

Nevertheless, it is simpler for reasoning and comparison to retain the official figures just as they are recorded, and which give more than 1,251 millions of annual charge.

The principal of the redeemable debt amounts at present to more than 7,854 millions, which added to the 21,941 millions of the funded debt gives a total of 29,795 million francs. Add further as a matter for reflection the principal representing approximately the 239 millions of the pension debt which may be estimated at 3,000 millions and a half, at the least.

Definitely for its national debt France owes upon the whole a principal that may be estimated at about 32,000 or 33,000 millions, only 7,854 millions of which has to be paid, while the remaining 25,000 or 26,000 millions corresponds solely to an annual interest charge.

The financial difficulties of the old régime were as every one knows one of the principal causes of the French Revolution. The sums mentioned in the reports of Necker, Minister of Finances of Louis XVI., and in those of Cambon, the member of the convention who created the "Ledger," are very far from equalling those that we have just examined. It is true that the

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purchasing power of silver was much greater then than it is now, and that on the other hand there was less development of wealth. We must therefore guard against taking the figures of 1789 or 1792 as identical with those of the present.

We may admit that toward the end of the old régime in France one franc was about equal to two francs of the present day.

According to one of the reports inserted in the *Moniteur,* the state of the debt on April 1st, 1792, was as follows:

	Francs.
Annual charges of the funded or perpetual debt	76,844,949
Annual charges of the pension debt	101,388,086
Total	178,233,035

Moreover, there was a debt of a principal of 1,950,023,415 francs, and a debt of a special principal of 1,564,178,281 francs for assignats. The Revolution was unable to meet all the financial complications that resulted from the events that were taking place, and caused the creditors of the government to suffer a loss of two-thirds of their claims. At the end of the century after the 18th Brumaire, year VIII. (November 11th, 1799), when Bonaparte having become first consul took the reins of government in hand, the national debt was summed up in a total annual charge of 75 million francs; but all the debts were not liquidated. Bonaparte, however, rapidly effected a liquidation, re-established public credit and put the finances on a solid basis. Despite the great military expeditions of the consulate and the empire the national debt was not much increased. In fact in the accounts of the year 1814 it figures only as a total charge of 109 millions. It may be said that by his system Napoleon I. nourished war with war. But his fall brought on very different results. It became necessary to regulate arrearages and to undergo the consequences of the European coalition; so that, after all these lengthy operations were finished, say in 1824, the total of the annual charges of the debt presented themselves as follows in the budget of this same year:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	197,064,244
For the redeemable debt	26,048,527
For the pension debt	71,552,918
Total	294,665,689

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The funded debt consisted at that time entirely of 5 per cent. stock, and this sum of 197 millions therefore was carried for interest in the budget of 1824 and represented at par a principal of 3,940 million francs.

Such is the starting point that must be taken in order accurately to appreciate the progress of the French debt from the philosophical viewpoint of history.

The other characteristic date that must be noticed between such starting point and the present situation is the end of the second empire previous to the terrible war of 1870-71 between Germany and France, that is to say, the year 1869.

At that epoch the state of the national debt presented itself for the annual charges inscribed in the budget as follows:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	361,494,542
For the redeemable debt	77,640,789
For the pension debt	85,545,524
Total	524,680,855

The funded debt consisted almost entirely of 3 per cent. stock, and its annual arrears as a whole represented in round numbers a nominal principal of 11,000 millions and a half. The nominal principal of the two other kinds of debts could be estimated at about 2,000 millions and a half, and with these there was therefore a total debt in principal of about 14,000 millions.

In order to ascertain what additional charges were added to it by the war of 1870 we must now take the figures inscribed in the budget of the year 1874. This year the debts consequent upon the war were liquidated, the necessary loans were negotiated and perfected, and the various operations resulting from the great events of 1870 and 1871 were accomplished. The annual *net* charges of the debt (that is to say, exclusive of the funds devoted to the amortization of the redeemable principal) were thus fixed in the budget of 1874:

	Francs.
For the funded debt	744,260,560
For the redeemable debt	108,998,588
For the pension debt	108,363,769
Total	961,622,917

Consequently it suffices to compare the two sums relative to the net charges of the debt in 1869 and in 1874 to see the origin

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of the difference of 437 millions inscribed as an addition upon the budget of 1874. This enormous increase may be considered as due almost entirely and more or less directly to the war of 1870-71.

Since then various causes have intervened, some to increase and others to diminish the debt of France in diverse forms. The causes of the diminutions have been notably amortizations and conversions.

In 1874 the funded debt which required in round numbers an annuity of 744 million francs was thus constituted:

	Francs.
For 5 per cent. stocks	344,747,641
For 4½ per cent. stocks	36,660,538
For 4 per cent. stocks	438,931
For 3 per cent. stocks	362,413,450

By successive operations the 5 per cent., 4½ per cent. and 4 per cent. stocks were converted into 3½ per cent., and these various operations which took place in 1883, 1887 and 1894 affected a diminution in the annual Treasury charges of 108, 191 and 863 thousand francs.

As for the amortizations, consisting of payments of principal in various forms, they have been effected every year for variable sums. In 1874 the Treasury refunded 200 millions, and in 1875 225 millions. Then the amortization began to vary from year to year, and sometimes fell to 63 millions, as in 1891 and 1893. The amortization provided for in 1900 amounted to 100 millions. From 1874 to 1900 the total of the amortizations effected amounted to about two thousand million and a half. The budget was therefore necessarily relieved by a sum corresponding to the interest on the last-named amount. So much for the diminutions.

But during this time France was borrowing with one hand while she was paying out with the other. We have seen that the annual charge of the funded debt has since 1874 been diminished by 108 millions through the conversions of stocks. The annuity of 1874, which was 744 millions, ought therefore to have fallen to 636; but it was 692 millions, say 56 more than it should have been. This sum corresponds to loans that had been effected after the war of 1870 for various purposes, such as colonial expeditions, public works and expenditures for army and navy equipment.

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But France has effected three other loans in the form of obligations payable at maturity, or of 3 per cent. redeemable stock. So the annual net charges of the redeemable debt have risen from 108 to 219 millions, say an increase of 111 millions, representing the annual interest on the principal borrowed since 1874, over and above the loans effected on the score of the funded debt. Thus France has borrowed more than she has repaid.

However, the portion of the debt that has suffered the greatest increase is the pension list. The civil and military pensions do not cease to augment, and this progression does not seem to be nearly ready to stop. Democracies are just as fond of pensions as monarchies, and politics has scarcely any influence upon human passions. Pride, vanity, ambition, envy and interest flourish under all régimes. The danger offered to the budget by pensions is serious. It seems as if half of the French will soon have to work in order to pay pensions to the other half. This danger was long ago pointed out, but without any result.

In 1884 I was selected to draw up the general report of the budget for 1885 in the name of the budget commission and took occasion at the time to show the Chamber that the pensions were putting the taxpayers to a total annual expense of 187 millions, and added that such a figure was by far too high, and that it was indispensable within as short a time as possible to take the most energetic measures to arrest it, if not to reduce it. At present the pension expenditure has in round numbers reached 240 millions, and has not finished! The rising tide does not seem disposed to stop. The same phenomenon may be observed in all countries, moreover, and is not to the credit of the electoral régime.

Upon the whole it is easy to see by the preceding figures that the national debt in France has not ceased to increase, as is the case everywhere else save in England and in the United States, since an effort was made there to reduce the debt after the War of the Rebellion.

It is but right to add that the loans have not all been expended without some return of permanent value. The sums employed in public works have corresponded to an enrichment of the nation and government. In France the railways belong to the government, though the government does not operate them; but it will acquire entire ownership of them after the expiration of

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the concessions made to the companies, say about the middle of the present century.

The government contributes only a small amount towards the first expenses of installation. Up to the present the entire system of railways has cost about 16,000 millions, out of which the government has furnished but 4,000. In consideration of this sum it is therefore owner of a domain of which the value is four times greater. This is not a bad investment for the father of a family! But the government must not increase the expenditures of its budget to such an extent that it shall find that it has consumed its heritage after the companies have placed the latter at its disposal.

In taking an intelligent glance at the debt of France we must take into consideration a few other necessary elements of estimation. A debt varies in importance according to the personal situation of the debtor. The debt of France is a big one; in fact, it is the biggest in the world. But France is a rich debtor and nothing would be easier for her than to cancel her indebtedness were she desirous of governing herself conformably to the rules of reason and of a good financial administration.

After the war of 1870-71 the country was in a terrible situation. Everything was destroyed in the military domain. It became necessary to re-establish the armaments, to reorganize the army, to restore commerce and the industries by a vigorous impulsion, to pay formidable sums to victorious Germany, and to make amends for the enormous damages done to cities, private estates and the public domain by the war and the invasion. This immense work of national restoration was directed by M. Thiers, who borrowed 5,000 million francs under conditions that seemed to be most unfavorable. The entire civilized universe gave him due credit for this work.

The expenditures of the budget have suddenly increased in a measure until then unknown. In 1869 the expenditures of the budget of the empire had been fixed at a total (for ordinary and extraordinary) of 2,013 million francs. In 1872 it became necessary to raise this total to 2,807 millions, say an increase of 800 millions per annum!

M. Thiers, however, understanding the economic necessity of diminishing the debt and of undertaking the reduction of it, vigorously organized an amortization, the amount of which inscribed

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in the budget of 1872 was 200 millions! This in 1873 he raised to 208 millions, in 1874 to 214 millions, in 1875 to 283 millions, and so on, and succeeded in rapidly repaying the Bank of France the 1,500 million francs that it had contributed toward the national defence. The prosperity of France during this period was phenomenal. Its foreign trade which in 1869 had amounted to but 3,075 millions in exportations rose in 1875 to 3,872 millions. All the signs that measure the activity and productive energy of a nation were found in harmony therewith. Up to the present the country has lost none of its qualities or natural gifts. In the financial problem of France there is but one question—that of government, a political question, nothing more.

The tax comes in with a regularity and expedition without example in other countries. The collectors scarcely ever have to institute proceedings in order to collect direct taxes. The power of production of the duties of consumption does not as yet decline much. The debt of France, then, must not be regarded as exceeding the capability of the industrious and brave people who inhabit the country; and the latter must not be considered as having necessarily to succumb under the financial burden that lies heavy upon its shoulders.

But all the earnest politicians of France are in accord with the most clear-sighted economists in recognizing the fact that the burden must not be rendered heavier, and that it is necessary to put a limit to the increase of the debt.

The credit of the debtor is sound, and the latter is justly reckoned among those that are most worthy of confidence in the world. In France as elsewhere it depends upon politics to steer the government finances toward the good or the bad. The possibility of beating about is past.

JULES ROCHE.

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AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES AND EDUCATION.

BY HAMILTON W. MABIE.

SOONER or later every experience must disclose its value in vital education; if it has no educational value, it does not count. One of the chief uses of the crises through which individuals and nations are constantly passing is the light they throw on those organized ideas which constitute individual and national character. When a man is in the full tide of activity, putting forth his entire strength in the management of a great range of interests, neither he nor those who look at his career are aware at every moment of his interior aims; those ideas at the very centre of his life which dominate him and shape his career among men. In like manner, when national activity is running with tidal force and volume, those ideas which lie in the heart of the nation and which are organized into its political character are often invisible for long periods of time. No one thinks of them save the philosophical observer of life; the nation is not aware of them. But when this tremendous energy is arrested by some great crisis, when in mid career of action a nation's character is challenged by some searching experience, the ideas which lie in its heart are suddenly struck into light. When these critical experiences come to a nation and call a halt in the midday of its activity, suddenly the things which it believes in its heart rise into its consciousness and become clear to the whole world.

Now, these fundamental ideas, these formative convictions which are the roots of character, are the deposit of education in its large sense. They are the product of that silent process by which institutions, inherited faiths, political traditions, formal training and physical circumstances are distilled into a few fixed habits, a few organizing ideas of life. The English-speaking races are holding their places and doing their work in the world

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to-day by virtue of their political education; they are everywhere the representatives of that full development of individuality, that free play of personality, which involve definiteness of aim, concentration of will, courage adequate to all emergencies, and the power of standing alone, and, if necessary, dying alone at the place where one's work is to be done. This is the reaction on character of a form of government and a body of political institutions which have constituted for many centuries a school of popular education, political in form, but vital in essence. This education has been the result of the working out of certain rational ideas, modified by physical surroundings and historical conditions. No attempt has ever yet been made on an adequate scale to definitely shape by educational processes the development of national character; that character is, nevertheless, the product of education, and that which is the product of education may be definitely modified by educational methods which shall be intentional and conscious, rather than purely instinctive. It is a matter of secondary importance whether one political policy or another prevails. What happens to a man of strong character is always of less moment than that which happens within him; what happens *to* a powerful race is of little moment to that which happens *within* the race. If right and adequate ideas of life can be planted in the character of a people, their progress in any given decade may be advanced or retarded by the adoption or rejection of certain policies, but their destiny is determined.

The life of a great people is both inward and outward. It is a life of the spirit, and it is a life of action; and the greatness of a race is determined by the depth and volume of its life in the spirit and the adequacy of its action to express that life. There is in the heart of every race a group of ideas which may be called ideals, since they express the passions, the faiths and the aspirations of the people. There is also in the same race a power of action, an executive ability, a skill in doing; and the real national problem is the co-ordination of those two sides of life; the side of ideas and the side of action. We live in our ideas; we express our ideas by the things we do.

Now, the executive side of national life is affected chiefly by formal education, by specific training; and the efficient races are the races whose education not only gives them sustained power and concentration of will, but also adequate skill in dealing with

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practical matters. Desmoulins, who has studied the question of English efficiency from the standpoint of an intelligent and open-minded Frenchman, has discovered the secret of the immense executive force of the English race in the education of the will which takes place in the English home and the English school; the steady training of the boy to stand on his own feet, to find his strength within himself, to use his resources in a crisis with cool self-command, and to be able to hold his own, if need be, in isolated and solitary strength. It is this training, developing the highest force of individuality, which enables the Englishman to live under conditions which are almost fatal to the Frenchman; to spend long months together in solitude, to overcome the home-sickness to which the Frenchman falls a victim, to resist the morbidness which comes from isolation in lonely and remote places, and to keep physical and moral health in long separation from the wholesome tonic of social relations. English ideals have worked down through the race into the individual, and are worked out through the individual wherever the opportunity offers. Englishmen in responsible positions often make blunders, but they rarely succumb to difficulties. They invariably put up a brave fight, and if they are beaten, it is not for lack of courage. The German is more thoroughly trained than the Englishman; he commands more kinds of skill, he represents a more systematic education; he is, in fact, the most thoroughly trained man in the modern world. So far, however, he has lacked the individual initiative of the Englishman because his political life has not developed his personality to its full extent; but the long subjectivity of Germany is fast being translated into a most efficient objectivity, and the German is to-day the foremost commercial competitor of the American and the Englishman. These three races are the active organizers and leaders of modern civilization in the Western world because they most thoroughly harmonize adequate ideas with adequate skill in execution. So far the Slav, with all his force, has not impressed himself on Western Europe. He has followed the lines of least resistance to the South and the East; he is practically an unknown factor so far as his ultimate race development is concerned.

Important as is this executive skill, this trained intelligence in practical affairs, it is secondary, not only in time, but in dignity and value, to those ideas or ideals of which it is the expres-

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sion. These are the real springs of a nation's energy and vitality, the real sources of its power; if these are deep and adequate, there is practically no limit to the outgo of its energy and the expansion of its influence. Every great people which has finished its career has passed through a period of great intensity of action; but after a time the vital tide has ebbed, and then, in every case, the quality and depth of the organizing ideas behind it have become visible. The emergence of these ideas into the light has disclosed the secrets of its power or its weakness. Sooner or later in the ebb and flow of national life, surface activity wears out and leaves the structure bare; this structure is the product of education. Few things are more striking in history than the disparity between Roman energy and Roman ideality. This masterful race had immense force, and put it forth during a long period of time with irresistible intensity and momentum; but there were no adequate ideas of life behind this force, and after the flood of energy had spent itself there were no deep fountains from which new streams could issue; there were no fundamental ideas from which a new civilization could be evolved. The Roman mastered the world and held it in his hands, but he did not know what to do with it; and so he remains, first, a masterful figure, then an impotent wielder of forces which he did not understand. There is no more tragic anti-climax than this swift and splendid grasping of all the resources of life, followed by complete failure to understand or use them. The secret of the material strength and the spiritual weakness, of the disparity between executive force and ideas, is to be found in the Roman education.

The peril of a country which has depth of idea, but inadequate grasp of reality, may be nobler, but it is not less real than that of the country which has a deep sense of reality, but inadequate spiritual conceptions. A nation of pure idealists would miss that final truth which comes as the fruit of action, that deep and mastered truth which is gained only through experience; for action instantly reacts on character, modifies ideas, makes them more definite and grounds them more deeply. Peoples who have chiefly executive energy are forces without depth or direction; peoples who have only ideas are dreamers whose ideas never become fruitful and dominant.

Along both these great lines—formative ideas and executive

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efficiency—education is the shaping, if not the creating, force. It is due to a lack of education that we are still perplexed and distressed by the elementary problems of politics, by the existence of wrong and abuses which belong to rudimentary political conditions. Whenever the political education of the country, expressed both in ideas and in executive force, is adequate, machines and machinists in public affairs will cease to be; they cannot exist in a really intelligent atmosphere; they exist to-day solely because so many American citizens are half educated politically. But education in this country is more than a question of political efficiency; the justification of democracy is involved in it. Democratic government is distinctly the most expensive in the world; expensive not only in money, but in the work which is required to give it the highest degree of purity and efficiency. It is neither so immediately effective, as an organized administrative force, as that which governs Germany, nor can it be conducted at so small an expense. If democracy were to be judged solely by the efficiency of its administrative work and from the standpoint of economy, it would fail to justify itself; its justification must be sought for on other grounds. It is the safest of all governments because its foundation is as broad as society itself. Nobody stands outside the circle of its privilege and responsibilities; no man is interested in tearing it down because it does not belong to him; every man is interested in securing the largest personal influence under it, because if he can command sufficient influence he can modify its action. Politically the whole field is open. In the long run, democracy must find its justification in the fact that it takes everybody into partnership, and that, by the equal distribution of its privileges and responsibilities, it puts forth an educational force of the most searching and permanent kind. Any form of government which trains its citizens to respect themselves and others, to guard their own rights and the rights of others, and so transfers authority from an external order to an interior principle, rests on immovable foundations, and justifies greater cost and care.

Unlike other modern peoples, we began with a great accumulation of educational results and forces. In other countries universities have come comparatively late. The first companies of colonizers who planted the seeds of civilization and laid the foundation of the State on this continent included not only men of

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gentle breeding, but of university training. The scholar has been here almost as long as the explorer; he came with the earliest trader, and if he has not kept pace in his influence with the man of commerce, it has not been because he has lacked the opportunity. Colleges are older than our national life—almost as old as our colonial life. Harvard was founded in 1636, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701, Princeton in 1746; thus along the seaboard, where the old world touched the new for the first time and the points of connection were made, there was a line of colleges from which, in the earliest days, the struggling young communities were fed with men of light and leading. No country in its original organization has ever made such free use of the experiences of other countries; our political system is based on the ripe experience of the whole world prior to 1776. If the generalizations of the Declaration of Independence could be traced back to their sources, we should find that not only France, Holland and England made contributions to that document, but Greece, Rome, Judea and Egypt as well. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution contain the purest and most condensed material of political wisdom, formulated first into a declaration of principles and then into a working governmental system, which men have ever had the opportunity of organizing into a new system at a single stroke. No other people has ever owed so much to its predecessors and to humanity at large as ourselves: the Greek, the Roman, the Jew, the Frenchman, the Dutchman and the Englishman have all worked, thought, suffered, legislated and acted for our benefit, and we have entered into the fruits of their labors. Other countries began at the foundation and shaped their systems under the pressure of the tremendous experience of national life; we quietly built on foundations which others had laid for us. We are what we are in our political structure and character because we have taken our political ideas from the life of the race; and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have had the opportunity of going to school to all the older races.

We are what we are as a nation largely because we have taken our political education from the experience of the entire race, and we have had the freest and widest national education because we have come so late into history that we have been able to take advantage of all that has gone before. What the value of these

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large relationships is comes out very clearly when we look at the course of vital education in the past. That education has been dependent solely on the intercourse of man with man; the isolated and detached man could go but a very little way in his training; no matter how vigorous his will, or how fine his intellectual equipment, he began to learn in a large way only when he touched his fellow. In the order of development out of savage individuality into the social life of civilization men seem to have passed first through the family consciousness; and the isolated family of the savage age was the dame school in which the race in its infancy learned its earliest lessons. Then came the time when it passed out of the dame school into the primary school by passing out of the family association into the clan association; the individual member of the savage family entering into the clan consciousness and multiplying himself by sharing the experiences of a larger group of lives. When the clan has done its work in fitting men into larger relationships, teaching them more complete self-control and broadening their ideas with the broadening of their interests and associations, the clan expanded into the nation, which became the secondary school of the race, taking men out from the narrow interests of the clan into the manifold interests and relationships of the nation. And now, after centuries of expanding life, the nation seems to have reached its full development, and there comes another and greater era—the age of international action, when the highest unit in society ceases to be the nation and becomes the race; that inclusive and final unity in which all nations are to be included, and by the slow pressure of which all national interests are some day to be harmonized. And the race enters on the university period in its education.

It is this extraordinary movement which has come suddenly home to the consciousness of all intelligent peoples during the past three or four years, and is bringing home to us in a new way and with immense force our urgent need of the most thorough education in all fields of endeavor. Heretofore we have had our own problems to solve; now we are compelled to take up the burden of solving the problems of civilization. These problems we cannot escape: they do not come to us through what is called imperialism or territorial expansion; they come through the inevitable growth of our own interests; the coming together of

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races through increased and more rapid facilities of intercourse, through multiplying trade relations, and by means of a thousand ties, spiritual, intellectual and social, which are being created by the circumstances of modern life. However we may feel about the question of territorial expansion, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the whole world is akin, and that whether we like it or not, we are coming constantly into greater intimacy with our neighbors and our benefactors, the older nations of the world. This higher unity which is being slowly worked out has long been foreseen by poets and prophets and sometimes by statesmen. Its realization is still in the distant future, but the tendencies which make for it and the movements which mark its direction are so clear that even the wayfaring man cannot overlook them. Toward this new unity civilized men are steadily advancing; they are drawn together in spite of themselves. It is idle to strive to keep out of the stream, for the stream is the great current of historical evolution, the movement of which has a tidal volume and power. The evolution from the unity of the family to the unity of the race will not pause till it has been perfectly worked out; and there are many who have known something of the peculiar conditions of opinion in this country during the last ten years who are ready to say: "Better a thousand times the perils of intimacy with other nations and with the race at large than the perils of isolation or of detachment from the race at large."

No man knows where he stands or what his life means till he knows the relative positions of other men, and what they are and have done. No nation understands its own strength or weakness, or can bring its ideals into clear consciousness, till it comprehends something of its historical relationships and knows what work other nations have accomplished and what point of development they have reached; for the true measure of the unfolding of the national genius and the working out of national power is the quality and magnitude of the contribution which the nation makes to humanity. That contribution may be either material, intellectual or spiritual, but nothing counts in the long run in national activity which does not mean something for the benefit of other races. The great races are those whose national life has been translatable to the greatest extent into terms of racial service; for this reason the Jew, the Greek, the Roman and the

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Italian stand out pre-eminently as the leaders and teachers of civilization. The record of what they did fills our histories, and the memory of what they were stirs our imaginations. They stand, not for mere accumulation, nor for the things which are made with the hands and counted in numerals, but for the supreme achievements of the mind and the soul; they stand for religion, morality, art, political organization—in a word, for civilization. Each nation developed its own gift, brought its own character to a certain maturity, and then each shared that which it had produced and created—its most sacred and spiritual possession—with other races. The fact that the value of the racial product and the racial life is determined by their serviceableness in the development of the life of the race is a matter of profound significance, now that all nations are drifting together, or at least are being brought into such relations that they are forced to consider one another's interests and to take account of one another's strength. The unity of the race as a definite working basis for the reorganization of society is still a long way in advance; but that unity has ceased to be the ideal of men with the prophetic sense—it is becoming a matter which the diplomatists must take into account, and the politicians must consider, because it is the shaping fact in the foreign relations of every great nation; it marks the gradual, irregular but definite transference of the conception of racial unity from the region of pure thought into that of action; and a century hence it will probably be recognized as the most majestic movement of to-day. The men who strive against it do not see its immense moral implications; it is the sublimest opportunity of modern history. The fact that it is possible to discuss seriously, and with a deepening sense of its practicability, a larger unity of action between all the English-speaking peoples for the furtherance of the higher aims of civilization has not failed to touch the imagination and to awaken the enthusiasm of all those who have any generosity of spirit. But no sooner had we begun to talk about the union of the English-speaking races than we realized that the synthesis was too small; there were other factors to be included. We retraced one stage in the great emigration of the English-speaking peoples and we found ourselves on English soil; but having retraced one stage, it was impossible not to retrace the earlier stage, and we are carried in thought from the ripe and beautiful land-

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scape of England to the shores of the Baltic; and the unity of the English-speaking peoples foreshadows and prophesies the unity of all men of Germanic origin. That idea is in the air to-day; more than this, it is in the thought and imagination of many serious-minded people; it has taken root and it will bear fruit because the great forces of racial, religious and intellectual traditions are co-operating with it.

But it is safe to predict that when these three nations have come to understand one another well enough to outgrow their small jealousies, which are always the fruits of ignorance, and which evaporate like the mist in the shining of larger and clearer knowledge, they will feel the need of the special qualities and services of the Latin genius and character, for, whatever may be the strength of the civilization which has its roots in Northern Europe, and which has come, by reason of its development of individuality, to hold such a great place in modern society, it is quite certain that the graces of life, the resources of a developed social nature, and the ministrations of the art instinct of the Latin races cannot be spared from an adequate conception of what the life of the modern world must and ought to be. We shall never stop with the union of the races of Germanic origin, nor shall we stop with a union of races which shall include the Germanic and Latin families; the Slav must still be reckoned with, and his literature and his history show that there is in his spirit a force which the Latin and the Germanic races need.

Nor will this great historical evolution pause till it has gone a step farther and reunited the East and the West. Nothing appeals to the imagination with such power, or seems to carry so much of prophecy with it, as the reappearance of the East in the interest and thought of the world. It is not too much to say that the centre of that thought to-day is in the Orient, where, apparently, the decisive questions of the next fifty years are to be asked and answered; where all the great nations are face to face, not only with the most perplexing questions, but with one another, in a competition which may be called selfish, and which certainly has elements of pure commercialism or pure militarism in it, but which is, after all, at bottom a new stage in the evolution of the common human life of the different races. It looks now as if the East were to be recognized under Western direction; and one does not need too much faith in human nature to

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believe that reorganization is to carry to the East a larger freedom than the East has ever known in its history; for, through the rough methods of national action, and intermingled with policies which are often narrow and sordid, there run lines of influence which transcend the purposes of politicians and statesmen, and even the generous purposes of generous peoples. It is in Asia Minor, India, China, Korea and Japan that the most striking, picturesque, and perhaps the most influential acts in the drama of the world's life on the stage of the twentieth century are to be set; and as out of the East came the earliest civilization in all its forms, so in the East the fruits of the long education of history, as they have been gathered by the Western races, are likely to be revealed in their interior spirit and their ultimate effect. As the boy reveals the deepest impress of education, not at the college or the university, or in the professional school, but in the active work of life, when he is compelled to put forth instead of receiving, so the great races are likely to disclose most clearly what lies in their own deepest consciousness when they are called on at a distance and under new conditions to deal again, in the lives of other races, with the problems which they have solved or partially solved at home.

From many points of view, the re-entrance of the East as the chief actor on the great world's stage strikes home to the imagination, and opens a vista in which no change seems too vast to be credible, and no reorganization of society too radical to come to pass. The reunion of the East and West means the completion of the circle of historic life; it marks the return of the race, after the long wanderings which constitute history from the date of the first migrations, to its earliest home, where it first dreamed the great dreams of human destiny. Ten years ago this would have seemed like a vision, though even then its realization would have evolved changes less radical and of lesser magnitude than those already accomplished and soberly recorded by historians. To-day it is no longer a matter of vision; it is taking place under our very eyes. It is idle to contend against such a movement; it is worse than idle to protest against it and say that it ought to be checked. Men have as little to do with it as they have with the movement of a great natural force; it is simply the evolution of the energy of the races, and it is a new stage in historical development. It has been brought about,

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not by intention, by the foresight of statesmen or by the greed of traders, but by an accumulation first of vital and then of historic force. There will be profit in it, and there is no harm in the profit, if profit be not its ultimate result, or if other and higher things are not sacrificed to profit; but there will be something better than profit in it; there will be safety. If it be true that the broader the base of a government and the more inclusive its citizenship the more stable the government, it is also true that the more inclusive the organizing unit of society, the more catholic the sympathies of the race, and the more universal its interests, the greater will be the chances of peace and the opportunities of spiritual growth. With every broadening of national activity comes a broadening of national experience, and that means not only the possibility, but the necessity of getting out of ourselves into the life of others. Nothing steadies a man so much as the pressure of great and noble interests; nothing keeps a man in such sanity and poise as the wide outlook which comes from contact with many and important affairs; nothing steadies a nation so much as great and weighty responsibilities; interests which are not limited by national boundary lines, but which are world-wide. This world process, like the individual process, is fundamentally educational.

It is significant that education can never be completed or perfected at home; one has to go away for it; and one of the most beautiful things in experience is the return of the boy from long absences at school, college and university, with a new and deeper reverence for his home, and a finer and more intelligent devotion to it. It is by going abroad in the large sense that men are educated. To stay at home is to gain a certain directness, vigor and independence, but it is to miss the larger vision, to lose the deeper insight, to be out of touch with the influences which enrich and liberate. The history of great races is a history of travel; it is a story of exploration, colonization, search and adventure. It is the story of the men who go away poor and come back rich; the story of those who take their lives in their hands for the sake of pushing back the horizons of knowledge, of touching the remote regions of the world and opening them up, bringing home with them some remote and hitherto inaccessible knowledge. The great races are always enriching themselves by searching the world for the things which make for enlightenment and power.

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The secret of genius, as illustrated in every art, is to seize with absolute clearness of vision and to represent with absolute fidelity the concrete, close-at-hand, familiar thing, and then, by the magic of insight and of expression, to disclose in this intimate, familiar, close-at-hand thing a universal principle or experience. So the great painter gives us a portrait which is instinct with life to the very last detail of feature and dress, and the man stands before us, as real, as actual and as clearly realized as if we saw him erect and breathing before us; and yet in the very perfection of his individuality, by the genius of the artist, this man becomes a type to us, and we escape through his personality into a comprehension of a great group of human beings. In like manner a people must realize their own character, do their own work, live on their own soil as if they were alone in the world; and then, by a process as inevitable as it is normal, they must enter into the life of humanity, associate themselves most intimately with other races, share in the work of the world, and find their places as contributors to civilization. Self-realization comes only through action on material outside of one's self; and national ideals and governing forces do not rise clearly into the consciousness till they are put forth, in large measure, outside the immediate sphere of national life. Matthew Arnold has said that the judgment of foreigners on works of literature is the nearest approach which we can make to the judgment of posterity. The judgment of the institutions and civilization of a nation by foreigners is often warped by prejudice and limited by ignorance; but, under the worst conditions, there is always a certain amount of truth in it, and under conditions which are growing better every day foreign opinion must possess greater and greater value; as it is based on disinterestedness, it will gain in insight and authority. The influence and action of a nation on the world at large is a reflection of its character, caught in a vast mirror, and discernible for the first time by the nation which casts it; so that one of the greatest benefits which the world is likely to receive as the result of the new spirit of internationalism will be a clearer discernment by each people of its own genius, and a clearer recognition of its own defects.

The supreme test of a man comes when he goes into the world and matches himself against the field, not in a spirit of antagonism, but in the inevitable and wholesome struggle to make his

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place and do his work; his place and his work are not to be seized by violent hands or held by brute force; they are exactly determined by his own strength and quality. The supreme test of a nation comes, not when it is struggling against manifold domestic difficulties to gain form and vigor, but when, having freely developed its force and planted itself firmly on elemental principles, it enters the large field of the world, finds itself in the competition of the races, and subjected to that searching and rigorous testing which goes on when diverse principles or methods of action are placed side by side; for the application of the law of selection is as rigid here as it is anywhere in the life of the race or the history of the globe. In the earlier stages of historic evolution, the immediate and the chief end of the movement of the period seemed to be to bring the nation as an organic force to perfection; that was as far as antiquity could go. When a nation was fully organized and highly differentiated from other nations, its destiny seemed to be fulfilled, and disorganization and decline began. It is true that the story of civilization is the passing on of the torch from one hand to another, each nation borrowing from every other nation; but the work of the older races was largely the development of the national idea, the national form, and it seemed impossible for the older nations, as nations, to take the next step; their influence could be diffused throughout the world only when the organic form out of which it issued and through which it expressed itself was shattered. Egypt was in decline when she became the teacher of antiquity; the independence of Greece was destroyed before the spirit of the Greek genius was liberated to make the conquest of the world. Demosthenes, standing for the pure principle of autonomy, contended against the inevitable when he made his splendid protest against Philip; but, in the loss of her autonomy, Athens gained an ascendancy which no other city except Jerusalem has ever held. Dissolution went before diffusion. It seemed as if the older nations had to die in giving birth to those great ideas with which they have enriched the world.

The significance of our age lies in the fact that the principle of nationality has now been so thoroughly developed, and has so deep a rootage in historic conditions, has become so much a part of the life of many peoples, and has passed so completely from a formal into a vital force, that it is possible to take the

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step from the national to the international unity, without loss of national individuality, vitality, energy or quality. The decline of the ruling races of the older civilization was contemporaneous with the diffusion of their racial spirit; the Jew, the Greek and the Roman dividing the spiritual and intellectual government of the world at the very moment when political power was slipping out of their hands forever. The modern movement, on the other hand, is characterized by the higher development of nationality through contact with other races and diffusion of the racial ideals. The race which cannot bear the test of meeting other races in the free field of the modern world ought to go to the wall; for the lower civilization must yield to the higher by a beneficent law, and the best types of civilization and the best forms of government are to survive, and they alone.

This is the test which every modern race must meet. It is not a question of physical strength, as it would have been at any other period; it is a question of intellectual capacity and of spiritual force: ideas are to have freer play through the world than ever before. The spirit which would take America out of this competition, keep her out of the world-field, has its rise either in ignorance or in fear. A great many Americans are still smitten with that kind of provincialism which finds safety in holding aloof from one's neighbors and prosperity in attending exclusively to one's own business; but the business of the world is our business, family ties between the races are coming more and more to light. It is impossible to keep any section of a city in health if in one neglected quarter disease is bred and started on its fatal course; it is impossible to keep the modern world wholesome if the conditions attending the pilgrimages to Mecca still breed cholera at recurrent periods, or if sanitary conditions in Bombay and Calcutta revive the black death, the scourge of the Middle Ages. We shall keep our freedom not by hoarding it, but by using it; we shall preserve the integrity of our own national ideals, not by trying to build walls around them on this continent, but by holding them boldly before the whole world. Nothing could be more shortsighted than the attempt to set America against Europe; to give Americans a sense of the value of their own institutions by decrying and misrepresenting social and political conditions abroad. American conceptions of government and social order are ranged in radical antagonism to

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some governmental systems on the other side of the Atlantic; but even in cases in which the difference is widest there is something for us to learn and there is nothing for us to fear from a more familiar association. We reject absolutely the underlying conception of the German Government, but the German Government has many things to teach us in efficiency, economy and intelligence, so far as administration is concerned. We have much to learn from Germany in the ability to call trained men into the public service; to place everywhere in any critical moment a man who can be trusted, not only to be honest, but to be capable. England has many things to teach us. It will indicate greater confidence in our own institutions when we give up boasting and are willing to go to school to any people who can teach us.

With the peoples of Europe we are in the deepest sympathy; under many governmental forms, in different stages of political education, they, like ourselves, are working out that common human problem the solution of which is the ultimate purpose and hope of civilization. There as here the tides of vital energy and many-sided activity are running with immense volume and momentum. Since the Renaissance there has not been such a liberation of spiritual and natural force. The fortunes of the race are once more at stake; the welfare of the race is on the cast. In this great arena we are forced to disclose our ideas in the searching light of action. *To Americans no conquests are possible save those which are won by superiority of ideas.* Ideas are the feeding springs of adequate action; action is the translation of ideas out of the world of the ideal into the world of the actual; these are the inevitable processes to which we must submit ourselves; and alike for the spirit and the hand, for the forces which inspire and the forces which shape and direct, education is the supreme necessity. In our new as in the old world, the highest prizes of life are within reach of the trained man alone; and in the great open field of the modern world the future belongs to the trained races.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

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THE COMMERCIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE SOUTH.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN LOWNDES M'LAURIN.

IT is the natural destiny of the Southern States of the Union to clothe and feed the world. They will become the great wealth-producing area of the country by virtue of their natural monopoly of cotton and cotton manufactures, iron and iron manufactures, their other undeveloped resources and the new grip they are taking on public and private life. To-day America either furnishes the iron or fixes the price of it for every bridge in the world. The Southern States are producing, in 1901, $400,000,000 of exports, one-third of the total of the United States, and have $150,000,000 invested in cotton manufactures alone. Twenty million dollars' worth of Southern goods were exported last year to China and the East. Massed there, in an area not much larger than the United States, one-half of all the people on the globe are to be found. The ports of the South are not many days from this market, and with an Isthmian Canal will be much nearer. The new development of trade in Southern cotton goods has been largely in Oriental countries, the climate and needs of whose peoples are thus best supplied. The most popular manufactured goods in China come to-day from the cotton mills of South Carolina, which have grown in number from 180 in the year 1880 to 600 in the year 1901.

It is reasonable to believe that within a few years the cotton exports of the Southern States to China alone will exceed $25,000,000 annually, provided those markets are not closed against us.

Within the last ten years the centre of cotton manufacturing in the United States has been transferred from Fall River, Mass., to Columbia, S. C.—where the mills that manufacture the raw cotton are actually surrounded by the fields in which it is grown, and whence eight railroads transport the finished product. One

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of its mills, the Olympia, is probably the largest and most perfectly equipped in the world.

Producing three-quarters of the world's cotton supply, netting more than $400,000,000, and valued in the finished product at $2,000,000,000, the South is now in a fair way to reap the profits of its manufactures, if politics be not permitted to bar the way.

Assuming that the first experimental cotton crop was grown in Virginia in the year 1600, it is to be borne in mind that between the years 1880 and 1890 alone the capital invested in cotton manufacturing in the South increased from $21,000,000 to $61,000,000.

In the year 1700, the American cotton crop was three thousand bales of five hundred pounds each, which realized twenty cents a pound, the highest price the raw product ever reached in this country being eighty cents, in 1865. In 1830 there were in the United States 801 cotton factories, with $40,000,000 capital. In 1834 the first cotton mill was built in Natchez. In 1897 there were 21,273 looms at work. In 1900 the yield of the United States in bales was 9,436,400. In 1901 the number of bales manufactured in the United States was 2,000,000, the number of mills was 600, and 5,000,000 spindles were at work.

South Carolina alone has to-day, in round numbers, 140 cotton mills, operating 2,250,000 spindles.

How are the markets of the East to be secured for the natural monopolies of the Southern States? By reciprocity or commercial treaties, for which the Commercial—not the "new" —Democracy stands, holding fast to all that was best in the old Democracy but looking forward and upward to where Columbia's sun is already dazzling the world by the glories of triumphs in peace as well as in war; standing shoulder to shoulder with all good Americans, no matter what their politics or prejudices.

The Commercial Democracy must go to no graveyards for principles, and to no dead men for platforms.

Commercial treaties are not party measures; they are patriotic necessities. Partisan appeals cannot undo them, for their repeal requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate. They give permanence as well as security to our industrial and financial relations with the world. They accomplish, one at a time, the very results at which a new tariff law might aim; but the suggestion of a new tariff invariably unsettles the finances of the world. We

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cannot afford to use the tariff to alienate other nations. This our lamented President—one of the best and wisest friends the South ever had—had already announced as his policy when stricken down in Buffalo. I believe his successor will wisely and consistently continue it.

Not ten years have elapsed since Birmingham shipped 250 tons of pig iron to Glasgow. In 1870 the whole South produced only 100,000 tons of pig iron. To-day the production of the South is 2,500,000 tons. Her iron exports in 1900 were worth $129,000,000. In ten years her coal output has grown from 6,000,000 to 40,000,000 tons. A most significant incident was the sale by the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia to the Russian Government of 150 locomotives for the Trans-Siberian Railroad. In spite of the fact that the Russian Government owns its railroads and maintains its own shops and puts a duty of four cents per pound on imports, the equipment of this gigantic railroad system of 8,000 miles came from the United States. It had to come from there!

In other industries than cotton and iron those great developments in the South for which the Commercial Democracy stands are growing apace. The Atlantic Coast Lumber Company of Georgetown, S. C., the largest in the South, is already one of the largest in the country; the prosperity of the lumber interests in the Southern States is due largely to the Dingley tariff against Canadian pine. In the few years since 1897 lumber manufactories have sprung up all over the South; factories for furniture, wagons, buggies, spokes and handles and brooms are utilizing the enormous area of virgin forests with which the South is richly endowed—which elsewhere have been burned and wasted.

The rice crop is another significant Southern industry which owes its present prosperity to the tariff. Under the Dingley bill a duty of 1-3 cent a pound was put on all rice that would not go through a number eight sieve. As a consequence the South now grows more rice than in 1861, although under the Wilson Tariff bill the production of rice in South Carolina was practically stopped in consequence of the competition from abroad. All the Southern representatives in Congress should, it seems to me, unite in a demand for a protective duty on rice of all sizes, in spite of the tremendous pressure now exerted by representatives of the brewers, in whose interests, largely, ground rice is now admitted free.

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In the past twelve years large quantities of cotton have been imported into the United States from Egypt. The same business wisdom which protects corn and wheat, and lumber and rice from the competition of countries where underpaid labor produces these staples to be brought into American markets by water freights and sold at ruinous prices, would extend the protection of the tariff which is already doing so much for manufactures in the South to raw cotton as well. Whereas ten years ago there were no appreciable importations of cotton, last year there were 70,000,000 of pounds brought in. One bale of Egyptian cotton will displace two bales of American cotton, and the estimate is put at an even higher figure by the bulletins of the Agricultural Department, which declare that four bales of American cotton are practically kept out of the market by the admission of a single bale from Egypt. At McColl, S. C., a large mill has been built to use Egyptian cotton only; there are other such mills in that State.

The Allen and Peeler long staple upland cottons were formerly grown in South Carolina, but Egyptian cotton has practically driven them out. The areas grown in Egyptian cotton are to be so increased by the completion of the dams now under construction along the Nile that it is expected an addition of 1,000,000 bales per year will be made to the Egyptian crop.

A duty of three cents per pound should be placed upon all raw cotton imported into the United States. This would make sufficient difference in the price to enable us to produce a long staple cotton which would take the place of the Egyptian.

The carpet mills of the South are now making cotton into fine carpets. The largest woolen mill in America is in successful operation at Knoxville, Tenn. The agriculture of the South has a present prosperity and a future development of the most brilliant promise. When some years ago the *American Agriculturist* offered a prize of $1,000 for the largest yield of corn from a single acre, Marlboro County, S. C., won the prize, with a crop of 255¼ bushels of corn, two crops being gathered in one year. Wheat and tobacco are produced under circumstances equally favorable.

It is for the development of new markets under a National policy which will equally benefit the whole country that the Commercial Democracy appeals to the Nation. It is for the policy

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which such Democratic leaders as Calhoun, Cheves, Hayne and Lowndes advocated years before that struggle between the States which retarded the development of the South so cruelly. It was in their time that South Carolina subsidized the old South Carolina Railroad upon which the first commercially operated steam locomotive hauled trains with "a nigger on the safety valve." It is for the same expansion for which the greatest leaders of the Democratic party have stood in times past that the Commercial Democracy stands to-day: the extension of our territory, our trade, our commerce, our political institutions, our civilization, and the blessings of our freedom. No matter what the name of the party, in national affairs, which advocates that expansion, the Commercial Democracy should, it seems to me, be proud to advocate those principles.

There is no such by-product in the world as cottonseed. In my childhood the seed was only valuable for manure, and in the rich river bottoms was often thrown away. Now one of the finest oils in the world is produced from cottonseed. It is used for almost every conceivable purpose. Large quantities are exported to Italy and France, where it is relabeled and sent back here as olive oil. It is used instead of both lard and butter. The meal is used as cattle food and for fertilizing, while the hulls, which a few years ago were burned, are used as cattle food and for making paper. New uses are being constantly discovered each day for cottonseed products.

One thing needed in developing the South is more economy in handling our products at home. This will come in time as competition forces us to curtail expenses. Every plantation now has its own machinery for ginning the cotton as it comes from the field. If there was in every community an oil and yarn mill with a ginnery attached, where cotton could be ginned so cheaply that the planter would find it to his advantage to sell the cotton in the seed, it would be a vast saving of time and money. The planter would get more for his cotton, the seed be carried by machinery to the oil mill and the lint to the yarn mill. Then, if there were within easy reach a mill to convert the yarn into cloth, we would have the ideal manufacturing plant. It might also be stated that a cattle-feeding business is no insignificant item of profit in connection with many of the oil mills. The men who are making the South to-day are those great captains

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of industry who are converting our raw material into the finished product, and no mawkish sentimentality should be permitted to interfere with this grand work. What we need is less politics and more business. One thing is certain, the dollar has been taken out of politics. That is settled, like Expansion and Free Trade. Now let us take business out of politics. Let us all be Americans only and not Democrats or Republicans on measures which involve the welfare of the Nation, the better development of her resources, the extension of her industry, and the expansion of her commerce. While on a purely sectional question, like white supremacy, a man must stand by his own people, it is a crime for any party to test party fealty by those broad, non-political American measures which in their essence involve the welfare of the entire Nation. President McKinley recognized, as I heartily believe President Roosevelt will, that property and intelligence must control in the South as elsewhere, that business men must fill the offices and administer the affairs of the Government in the South as in the East, the North and the West.

The balance of trade is in our favor. The South desires to share in the opportunity which is before the Nation. The people of the old world cannot produce food enough for their consumption. The people of the United States are producing yearly a greater and greater surplus of those products which the rest of the world uses, and for which it is paying us hundreds of millions of gold. If properly handled, the balance of trade in our favor will grow heavier from year to year; if we sell for gold all that we sell, and buy for gold all that we buy, the financial centre of the civilized world will have permanently passed from London to New York as it passed from The Hague to London.

JOHN L. MCLAURIN.

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WHY THE CHINESE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

BY JAMES D. PHELAN, MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

WHEN Mr. Ho Yow, the Imperial Chinese Consul-General, asked, in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, whether Chinese exclusion is a "benefit or a harm," the interrogation awakened a curious interest. The people most familiar with the subject were disposed to regard the question as not wholly serious. They recalled the patient investigation, full discussion and practically unanimous settlement which it received in 1882, and again in 1892, when Congress granted remedial legislation to cure an acknowledged evil.

The Exclusion Acts then passed were limited to ten years' duration. In May next the latest act will expire by limitation, and Congress will be asked to renew it, because, until now, Chinese exclusion has been regarded in diplomatic circles and elsewhere as the settled policy of the country. Has there been any change in the nature of the evil, or in the sentiments of the people? Certainly not on the Pacific Coast, where the lapse of time has made still more evident the non-assimilative character of the Chinese and their undesirability as citizens.

The Exclusion Act has been reasonably effective, although the Chinese, with more or less success, have employed their well-known cunning in evading its provisions by surreptitiously and fraudulently entering the United States. The law, however, has opposed a barrier to the great volume of immigration which threatened this country for many years prior to 1880. The statistics show that the whole number of Chinese in the United States has not materially increased within ten years, while the Chinese population in California has decreased. In 1880 the census revealed the presence of 75,132 Chinese in California; in 1890, 72,472, and in 1900, 45,641. In New York State there

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were but 29 Chinese in 1870; in 1880 there were 909; in 1890, 2,935, and in 1900, 7,170. The Chinese in California have apparently emigrated to other States, and this will ultimately bring the question, in a practical way, before the people of the East.

The influx having been checked, the danger to California has been averted, and, consequently, during the last decade industrial conditions indicate comparative prosperity; whereas it is well known that prior to the Exclusion Laws the State of California suffered acutely from labor troubles and business derangement. Unemployed men, hungry from want of work, marched the streets of the cities, inaugurated political parties, disturbed the peace of communities by riotous outbreaks which threatened at times the foundations of law and order; and these facts gave to James Bryce a fruitful theme for speculation on democracy in his excellent work, "The American Commonwealth." He devoted two chapters to the anti-Chinese crusade in California and looked upon it as a race, labor and political question, which sooner or later, unless solved, would menace American institutions. Accusations were made at that time, which Ho Yow repeats, that the opposition to the Chinese came from demagogues alone. To show the unanimity of the people, I may point out that the Legislature submitted by referendum the question of Chinese immigration to a popular vote. For Chinese immigration 883 votes were polled, and against Chinese immigration 154,638 votes. In the City of San Francisco, representing the wealth and intelligence and containing the skilled-labor organizations of the State, only 224 votes were cast in favor of the immigration and 41,258 votes against it. This result demonstrated clearly that the resident population of California, taking the broad ground of self-preservation, refused to suffer themselves to be dispossessed of their inheritance by Chinese coolies. That is what the verdict meant.

A select committee of Congress, after investigating the question and taking testimony in California, reported in favor of Chinese exclusion, and that policy has been regarded ever since as a peaceful preventive of serious disorders affecting the body politic which would have inevitably ensued had the National Legislature failed to protect the white population of the country.

Public opinion is the most potent agency through which Congress can be influenced, and there is evidently now an organized

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attempt being made, principally by high Chinese officials, to change the sentiment of the people. They strike at the national policy by acting through other channels than those of diplomacy. These officials have entered our political arenas, put petitions in circulation and directly addressed themselves to the voters. Therefore they must be answered, even at the risk of reopening an ancient feud.

The municipal authorities of the city and county of San Francisco have issued a call for a convention to memorialize Congress again on the subject, and on November 21st there will be a representative gathering of the people of California to voice the sentiments of the State.

Mr. Ho Yow, knowing the great demand there is in a new country for common laborers, has ingeniously taken the stand that the Chinese are not skilled and, presumably, are incapable of becoming skilled. Knowing also that skilled labor is organized and is always in the vanguard for the defence and protection of labor rights, he has endeavored to quiet its alarm by arguments of this kind. He thus appeals to the cupidity of the farmer and the orchardist, while he attempts to allay the fears of the mechanic. It is safe to say that his argument is a careful and studied presentation of the case. He attempts to meet the "accusers of his people" by granting with astonishing candor everything that they say. To quote him:

> "I shall concede that the Chinese do in a sense work more cheaply than whites; that they live more cheaply; that they send their money out of the country to China; that most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States; * * * that they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

He then boldly says that on these accounts a condition is created which "is to the highest advantage of this country, and particularly to the highest advantage of those who oppose Chinese labor and at whose instance the laws were passed." He argues—as we have seen, fallaciously—that opposition to the Chinese was the work of "political demagogues"; and he further says that, after exclusion, the business of California on that account "dried up," and that trade with China fell off $7,000,000 in two years. Ho Yow is evidently in error, because, after Chinese exclusion, trade with China steadily increased. The total imports and exports in 1880 amounted to $27,999,482, in 1882 to $31,762,313,

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and in 1900 to $38,130,000. Consul-General Goodnow says (Consular Reports for August, 1901):

"The United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. * * * The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation; and her total trade with China, exports and imports, equals that of Great Britain (not including colonies) and is far ahead of that of any other country."*

The exclusion of Chinese has had no appreciable effect on the trade between the two countries. The resident Chinese import for their own consumption dried fish, pickled vegetables and rice; and these commodities have not, according to the Custom House records, fallen off since 1881. Of course, the more Chinese there are in this country the more breadstuffs will be imported, but the commerce in silks and teas goes on irrespective of the presence or absence of a local Chinese population. The same is true of other imports.

The fact is, commerce is not sentimental. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessities of the situation, and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our exclusion as necessarily an unfriendly act. Our other relations with China have been more than friendly and have been duly appreciated.

John W. Foster, in his "Century of American Diplomacy," dwells upon these cordial relations and says that, from the beginning of our political intercourse with China, we have discouraged all efforts on the part of Americans to engage in the opium trade, so injurious to the Chinese people and forbidden by Chinese law; that our Ministers have been instructed to inform the Chinese Government that citizens of the United States would not be sustained by their Government in any attempt to violate the laws of China respecting trade; and, when the Chinese Government paid the United States the sum of $735,238 in satisfaction of the claims of its citizens against China, the United States in 1895

*The United States Consul at Amoy reports that, in 1897, "the importation of American flour amounted to 312,000 pounds; in 1898, to about 3,250,000 pounds; and in 1899, to over 13,000,000 pounds."

The United States Consul at Che Foo writes that "in five years the value of merchandise known to be American increased from $739,333 to $2,171,669."

Consul-General Wildman reported from Hong Kong that "the gain in American case oil amounted to 21,473 tons, or 36.4 per cent."

Tobacco, beer, whiskey, wire, wire nails, kerosene, pig lead, timber, machinery, beef and hog products, leather, clocks and watches, fruits, nuts, butter and cheese have, according to Consul-General Goodnow at Shanghai, increased materially.

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returned an unexpended balance of $453,400 by Act of Congress. This unusual international proceeding was acknowledged by the Chinese representative with expressions of kindness and admiration for the United States, and with the assurance that "the friendly relations so long existing between the two countries will thereby be strengthened." The position of the United States in respect to the recent war in China has further inspired Chinese confidence in our good faith.

America, therefore, is at no disadvantage in dealing with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion. At one time the Chinese Government was not in favor of the emigration of its people; but its modern statesmen know the great benefit of relieving the pressure of overpopulation.

The Chinese are not like other emigrants whose departure from the land that nurtured them in their helpless infancy and childhood is an irrevocable loss. The Chinese emigrant goes out a pauper and unfailingly returns with a competency, and becomes a well-to-do member of the country in which, according to his religious belief, his bones must rest in order to insure eternal peace. This, indeed, is "territorial sectarianism," difficult to overcome, but some would ask America to assume the task.

But it is in the theory that the Chinese question is a labor question that Mr. Ho Yow seems to find his main reliance in advocating the abrogation of the exclusion laws. He argues that the opposition is inspired by the laboring masses; that the laboring masses are governed by labor unions; that labor unions are composed of skilled men in various trades and vocations, and that the Chinese are not skilled, and, therefore, are not formidable competitors. In fact, he says:

> "The Chinese are wholly unskilled, and are in the main mere laborers or agriculturists. They could not under any circumstances be called to the places of strikers in skilled lines; so that, even from the standpoint of the labor unionist, the Chinese could do the labor unionist no harm."

I contend that this is not a mere labor question, nor a race question. It is an American question, affecting the perpetuity of our institutions and the standard of our civilization. But let us examine Ho Yow's allegations of fact.

For the most part the Chinese who have so far come to this country do menial work and manual labor; but they also exten-

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sively engage in skilled employments. They work on railroads, in mines, in fields and orchards and forests, crowding out the white laborer everywhere on account of their willingness to work for a smaller wage. That is the experience of the West. As mere laborers, there is little to complain of in them; but for all purposes of citizenship their usefulness ends with their day's work; and whatever they are paid, they are paid too much, because they make no contribution by service or citizenship or family life to the permanent interests of the country.

The Chinese are to the last degree imitative. They have taken up the skilled work of our white population, and mechanically duplicate it. They are makers of cigars, shoes, shirts, clothing, women's underwear, overalls, children's clothes; they have acquired skill in dentistry and photography; they engage in journalism, commercial electricity, watchmaking, painting, bricklaying; they are carpenters, broom-makers, butchers, and in the culinary arts they particularly excel, supplanting white domestic servants.

In most of these trades and vocations they have unions which are well known in San Francisco. The Hong Tuck Tong, or Cigarmakers' Union, contains 1,500 members, who are employed throughout California. The Shoemakers' Union has 1,000 members. In Chinatown, San Francisco, evidences of their skilled labor are everywhere seen; and in the business streets of the city proper they have opened numerous stores in their own names, in which they sell their own products and especially women's and children's underwear. White sewing girls have been driven out of employment; and recently, on the advice of a large dealer in dry goods who promised support, a philanthropic gentleman assisted in the establishment of a factory for the employment of white girls exclusively, under the charge of a competent superintendent. After a few months' trial it failed, on account of the impossibility of meeting Chinese competition. The Chinese work day and night without cessation, subsisting on the most meagre food, and it is physically impossible for white women to turn out goods that will sell against Chinese prices in the open market. This is a very serious phase of the labor question on account of the small number of the fields in which women may profitably work.

Fruit canneries throughout California give employment to

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boys and young women; but next door to the Consulate occupied by Ho Yow in San Francisco there is an extensive cannery, which is owned and operated by Chinese. They run the steam engines, they handle the cans and boxes made by Chinese boxmakers and carpenters; they pack the fruit; their tinsmith solders the cans. It has been known that when they are short of Chinese labor they employ white boys and girls, who work under conditions and amidst surroundings which deprive labor of a great part of its dignity.

The only municipal record kept of skilled employment is contained in the Assessor's report, which shows the Chinese are engaged in most of the local skilled industries. This report, ending June 30th, 1901, is as follows:

	Number.	Whites.	Chinese.
Cigar box manufactories	5	60	80
Broom manufactories	8	100	90
Cigar manufactories	321	500	800
Chemical works	6	100	40
Clothing manufactories	30	800	250
Fireworks manufactories	1	20	12
Fruit canning factories	11	2,500	350
Laundries (white, 139; Chinese, 151)	290	1,600	850
Match factories	4	60	20
Shirt factories	40	800	700
Shoe factories	16	700	250
Woolen mills	1	125	20
Women's and children's underwear factories	16	200	570

It is vain, therefore, to claim that Chinese are "mere laborers or agriculturists."

One thing certain is that when they come to this country they know little else than manual labor; but they soon acquire a skill which enables them to compete with the trained American workingman. The Chinese in any considerable numbers are, consequently, a great potential danger to skilled labor.

But is the man who tills the soil to be supplanted by the non-assimilative Asiatic? Is husbandry to be abandoned to a servile class? Is land monopoly to follow industrial monopoly, and are large holdings, managed by overseers, to drive the farmers for employment into the cities, where Chinese labor will meet them and there deprive them of the opportunity to work? Pliny says that "large estates ruined Italy." The free population were driven into Rome by slaves, who were forced to cultivate the soil, and, deprived of honorable and useful employment, became the rabble, which finally compassed the destruction of the Republic.

Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Chinese

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are only common laborers and agriculturalists. Shall they be allowed to enter freely in unlimited numbers to stimulate development, or shall the development of the country be allowed to proceed with equal pace with the settlement of the country by a desirable citizenship? Ho Yow takes the coldly economic view. He modestly says the Chinese by increasing productiveness would open new fields which they themselves would be unable to enter. That is to say, the products of the mine and field would increase the business, for instance, of the transportation lines, the canning industries and the banks. That is very ingenious, but it is predicated upon segregating a servile class, and violently assuming that that class, or its more intelligent members, are incapable of taking up work which involves skill and management. Ho Yow, in this, proves too much.

The benefits accruing from the presence of a servile class, doing the rough work of a country, always belong, as in slave-holding days, to the few; and when it is considered that the Chinese are migratory and receive wages which they send out of the country, a parallel between the negro slaves and the Chinese coolies is only remarkable in this, that by any fair comparison slavery must be regarded as economically more advantageous to the State. The slaves worked for a comfortable subsistence, and did not drain the soil of its wealth by the exportation of "the wage fund," which was formerly appropriated by the slave-holder, and which, in any event, remained to enrich and develop the country. It is estimated that the Chinese since 1868 have exported from the United States $400,000,000 in gold on this account alone.

Ho Yow says that the Great Wall of China was built to exclude robbers, who gave no return. Our Exclusion Act was erected, he says, to keep out men who gave adequate return for their wages. I hold that the Chinese cannot, in the nature of things, give an adequate return for their wages, not only for the above reason, but because by their presence they exclude a more desirable population.

In an American sense, we cannot regard a laborer, as does Ho Yow, as a human machine. He speaks of the enormous productiveness due to machinery, and he points out the fact that labor-saving devices are encouraged and have increased the sum of human comfort. From this he argues that if the Chinese, on

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account of their number and the little fuel which they require to keep them going, are in a sense perfect machines, they should be admitted. But there is a limit even to the capacity of a machine. It must have a man behind it. That man is a unit in the government of a free country; and we must insist, in a patriotic sense, as well as in the best economic sense, that his status as an intelligent human being, endowed by his Creator with inalienable rights, shall be preserved. The machine is the creation of intelligence and is only supplementary to the skill of man, whereas the Chinese, knowing nothing but ceaseless and unremitting toil, coming without wives and without appetites, would remain a part of the mechanism and be content. If they were allowed to enter as innocent agriculturists, there is no reason, so imitative are they, why they should not become operatives in our factories and conductors and brakemen, as they are now builders and linemen, on our railroads; as they are now canners and packers of our products, and as they are now sailors upon the sea. They would enter the fields made attractive by the greater production of wealth.

Consul-General Goodnow, in his report, says that American goods are not credited to us in the statistical tables when they are sent by "large shipments from the Pacific Coast *via* Japanese lines" (a kindred and invading race), but are "credited to Japan." The Japanese have their line of steamers. Why not the Chinese?

It is no dream in this day of industrial combinations, when we behold the unrestricted power of capital, to foresee that with the abandonment of the policy of exclusion land barons, money captains, commercial kings would reduce American labor to the condition of Oriental servility, and to a standard of living no better than that of the Chinese. This certainly would be the inevitable tendency, and I believe, on account of their tractability, the Chinese would be given preference in employment, which would mean the destruction of the American workingman, and, with the destruction of the American workingman, the destruction of the Republic.

The existence of slavery in the South resulted in the creation of immense wealth, just as Ho Yow argues would result from the presence of his countrymen; but it produced structural defects in society. It created an aristocratic class, a slave class, and a "poor white" class. It was an aristocracy with slavery as

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its corner-stone. The drastic remedies of the war should be a warning to-day. The accumulated wealth of the South, created by slave labor, was wiped out by an appalling expenditure of blood and money, which can never be recovered should we endure for a thousand years. Therefore, it is not a question of wealth at any cost, nor whether the wages of Chinese are higher or lower than ours. It is the question of the desirability of having the Chinese at all. If the wages they demand are as high as those of the European, or if the work they do—paid for in reduced wages—is not equal to the work done by the white laborer, it is all immaterial in view of the fact that the presence of a servile class is repugnant to our form of society and our ideas of government.

Ho Yow answers the objection that the Chinese "do not assimilate with the American people and do not adopt American methods and ways" by intimating that their provincialism is the result of the refusal of this country to naturalize them. He says: "This whole trouble has been caused by the fact that we are not citizens and voters." He quotes approvingly the words of the Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada:

> "It was a menace to Canada to have a large number of Japanese living in Canada and to exclude them from taking part in the legislation affecting their property and civil rights."

It is, indeed, generally true to say that the United States must admit its Chinese population to the right of suffrage and to all the privileges of American citizenship, if it grants them the privilege of permanent residence. If they are to be admitted into this country freely they cannot be held as a separate class in a state of quasi-bondage or helotry. They are either desirable as citizens or not desirable at all. They must be admitted as ultimate voters, or excluded as being incapable of wisely using the elective franchise and assuming all the rights, duties and obligations of citizenship. It is a false position to discuss them simply as laborers, skilled or unskilled. Therefore, unless America is prepared to receive them as citizens, the Exclusion Act should be renewed, and we should look to the Caucasian race, as we have in the past, for the upbuilding of our industrial, social and political fabric.

In this discussion let us recall that the United States was originally wrested from a despotic rule in the interests of civil liberty. Man's capacity for self-government was asserted and

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sustained. A Republic was founded to protect its citizens in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and a constitution was adopted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to them and to their children. Thus established, the gates of America were thrown open to the oppressed and liberty-loving peoples of the world, and a new and immeasurably important experiment inaugurated. It has thriven for more than one hundred years and now it is threatened.

The conditions imposed on the new settlers for the enjoyment of rights and privileges were citizenship and allegiance, and it became the correlative duty of the State to protect them. On this basis the country was settled, and the immigrants who have since been and are constantly being molded into the American people acquire legal and moral rights which the Government must protect.

It is well understood that the invitation of the new Republic was addressed to the people of Europe, and that the Mongolians were not included in it. In interpreting our naturalization laws the Federal courts have held that the Caucasian race was alone contemplated by them, and by special exception, the negro race; that exception was the result of political necessity. The same necessity will arise, in the course of time, to naturalize the Chinese if they are admitted. But the Chinese do not come in the name of liberty as oppressed, nor are they willing to renounce their old allegiance. They are not even *bona fide* settlers. They do not seek the land of the free for the love of it. On the contrary, they are attached to their own country by a superstitious bond, and never think of leaving it permanently. It is also plain that, by their mental organization, they have no capacity for or appreciation of the blessings of liberty.

In fact, few Chinese migrate voluntarily at all, but are brought here under contracts made by their masters. It has been said that if the Six Chinese Companies of California were destroyed immigration would cease. Formerly debtors and criminals were exiled from China under contracts to work out their salvation on American soil. Of such stuff citizens fit for a republic cannot be made.

Their physical assimilation is as repugnant to them as it is undesirable for us. I am informed by the Police Department and by the managers of the Chinese missions in San Francisco

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that after nearly thirty-five years of intercourse the number of marriages between whites and Chinese do not exceed twenty, and that the offspring are invariably degenerate. The California Legislature, at its last session, amended the Civil Code of the State so as to prohibit, for the first time, the intermarriage of white persons with Mongolians. Heretofore the Code referred only to negroes and mulattoes. They cannot and will not assimilate with the white population; they live in colonies separate and apart, and are in all respects a permanently foreign element.

It follows, from these premises, that there is no obligation on the part of the United States to receive the Chinese as other peoples are received, but that there is an obligation on the United States to exclude them on the ground of duty to others as well as of self-preservation.

The right of a State to exclude an undesirable immigration is fundamental international law. Self-protection yields to no higher law. Therefore it is supreme. The Chinese, by putting a vastly inferior civilization in competition with our own, tend to destroy the population on whom the perpetuity of free government depends. Without homes and families; patronizing neither school, library, church nor theatre; lawbreakers, addicted to vicious habits; indifferent to sanitary regulations and breeding disease; taking no holidays, respecting no traditional anniversaries, but laboring incessantly, and subsisting on practically nothing for food and clothes, a condition to which they have been inured for centuries, they enter the lists against men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. Our civilization having been itself rescued from barbarism by the patriots, martyrs and benefactors of mankind, the question now is: Shall it be imperilled? Is not Chinese immigration a harm?

If it were possible for unmarried white men to compete with Chinese, they must remain single, by which the State would suffer. If families were reared under the conditions of such a competition, they would gravitate irresistibly and without blame to the poorhouse and the penitentiary. Society must recognize this; to the white man it is only a question of self-support or State support.

If the Chinese are admitted, whence are the ranks of the free population to be recruited? Who shall preserve our civilization and who shall fight our battles? The Chinese may be good labor-

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ers, but they are not good citizens. They may in small numbers benefit individual employers, but they breed the germs of a national disease, which spreads as they spread, and grows as they grow.

In this view it matters very little whether with Chinese labor there is increased productiveness or not, nor whether a greater or smaller number of enterprises are inaugurated. The material interests of a State must be subordinated to the social and political interests of the people. Before cheapness and abundance must we consider the status of the men who are called upon to maintain the country's institutions and contribute by their presence to its true wealth. White men are both producers and large consumers, which the Chinese are not. Coolie labor appears to the short-sighted farmer and manufacturer as desirable so long as other people find employment for the white man on whose consumption they depend. But substitute Chinese labor for white labor, and the home market would disappear. What political economy can reconcile this fact with the good of the State? But even political economy must condemn the Chinese. The Chinese leave the results of their labor, it is true, but, let us repeat, they take out of the country the equivalent, and, contrary to those economic laws on whose due observance depends the material wealth of nations, their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested. So what work they perform is paid for doubly by the employer and by the community.

We must admit that the Chinese while unprogressive are a good laboring class; but we return to the question, which presses for solution, Can we in this country and in consonance with our institutions segregate men of a labor class and regard them only in the light of their capacity for work? Sir Thomas More, in his "Utopia," considers this very subject. In constructing his ideal state he made men equal; but in order to relieve its members of humiliating labor, which would, he thought, disturb the equality proposed, he provided for a distinct class which was to perform all the disagreeable functions of society. If this idea were approved by us, the Chinese would be the most desirable people for such a purpose. They work well, they are docile and they would not be concerned about their political condition; but such suggestions are repulsive to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title

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to rights, and the Government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which "Utopia" starts out by subordinating. This political power invested in men shows further the necessity of keeping up the standard of population, and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and non-assimilative races.

In "Utopia" men are equal in respect to their occupations; while with us, in the language of the French Declaration of 1789, more explicit than our own, "Men are equal in respect to their rights."

The American people are certainly alive to-day, as they were in 1882 and 1892, to the significance of this question. But there are many good people who, mistaking the mission and destiny of their country, in a spirit of brotherhood would welcome the Chinese and every foreign race. Have we not proved by a progressive development that we are sufficient unto ourselves? Is not our duty to the heathen subserved by missionary labors and by establishing American ideas, enterprises and trade in other lands? Must we take them into our own house?

St. Paul said to the Athenians, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," but he promptly added, "He hath determined the bounds of their habitation." In spite, however, of the warnings of history and the dangers which we of the Pacific Coast have endeavored to point out in the discussion of this question, which is more than one of labor or locality, there are a few men in the East to whom we would politely address ourselves, whose mistaken sense of duty has arrayed them against the American policy of Chinese exclusion. Let them not merit the opprobrium of the poet's reproach:

> "The steady patriots of the world alone,
> The friends of every country but their own."

JAMES D. PHELAN.

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ELECTRICITY IN THE SERVICE OF MAN.

BY A. N. BRADY.

THE waterfalls have been at work for untold ages. Within a generation man has harnessed their force, converted their energy into electricity and compelled nature to do the work of the world. In thirty years electrical science has advanced from the field of discovery and invention to practical application to the arts and industries, developing a tiny laboratory spark into a powerful agent which moves the wheels of industry and commerce. The telegraph and the arc light were known before; but the telephone, the electric railway, the incandescent lamp, and the electric motor have been used only within a generation.

Electric cranes and hoists would build the Pyramids to-day with ease and dispatch. The thousands of unskilled workmen who actually wore out their lives in that monumental labor of dead ages paid the penalty of ignorance. Economy and concentration of effort are the lessons of the twentieth century.

The automobile truck, wheeling tons of dead weight from place to place under the guidance of a driver whose only labor is to pull a lever, is an example in everyday life of an electric machine doing safely and economically work which was but recently the wearisome task of man and beast. Merchandise will soon be collected by electrically operated express wagons, transferred to electrically propelled freight cars, and whirled from New York to Chicago at a speed of ninety miles an hour, over trunk lines whose problems of electrical equipment and maintenance will have solved themselves.

A man who, twenty-five years ago, predicted that everyday business would be carried on to-day between New York and Chicago by direct vocal communication over a telephone wire, would have been scoffed at. It is difficult to think of any new

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demonstration of the practical use of electricity which shall compare with that. But no man can deny the possible achievement of a greater marvel. All the while, electricity is coming closer home to the masses of the people, lifting their burdens, shortening and smoothing their journeys, lighting their streets and roads, and making their working tasks less difficult.

Of the two quarrymen who pierced a ledge of rock ten years ago, one holding the drill and the other plying the sledge-hammer, one only is now needed to operate an electric drill, while doing ten times the work. The laborer's task is lightened; his partner has found an equally improved opportunity; they both get more wages; and their employer gets out more rock. A few years ago, the drawbridge at Hamilton Avenue over the Gowanus Canal, in Brooklyn, N. Y., was operated by from three to five men working on a capstan requiring from four to five minutes to complete the operation. An electric motor has been substituted, which closes the bridge in fifty seconds, and the services of but one man are needed.

Traction and lighting are the two applications of electrical energy to every-day life which are most in the public eye. Twenty years ago there were no electric cars in the United States.

The application of electricity to trunk line railway traction is believed by many experts to be a development of the near future. The superior utility and flexibility of electric cars for traffic within, without and between cities, under certain conditions, is not denied. Problems of cost and convenience, which increase in importance with the length of the lines operated, are by no means insoluble. Because we do not see our way now to the economic substitution of electrical for steam locomotives on a four-track trunk line between two centres of American population, it does not follow that the change will not be made eventually. The long, luxurious sub-trolley car, handsomely fitted and brilliantly lighted, which carries its passengers along a well ballasted track at the rate of twenty miles an hour in many American cities, is a far greater advance over the musty little horse car which was in use prior to 1884 than the electric train of parlor cars will be over the steam equipment, the passengers in the former making the run from New York to Chicago between daylight and dark.

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Of course, the enormous investment represented by the steam locomotives of the trunk line railway systems must be borne in mind in considering this substitution of electrical traction. But to my mind the most important consideration in the profitable use of electricity on trunk line railways is the necessity for dispatching frequent trains, made up of a smaller number of cars, instead of infrequent trains made up of a larger number of cars. The latter is the steam railroad method, by which each train pays for itself. The electrical plant, representing a great, continuing investment, would be earning no return at all except while trains were in operation. The more trains run, whether consisting of one, three, five or any number of cars warranted by the demands of the traffic, the better the return on the investment. The same reasons which would supersede steam by electricity on railways would render the superseded locomotives comparatively useless elsewhere. A syndicate in Berlin is experimenting in high speed and long distance traffic, to determine possibilities and limitations by actual test.

There are two hundred miles of inter-urban electrical roads running out of Indianapolis alone, connecting the principal cities of the Indiana natural-gas belt. The forty mile electric railroad from Albany to Hudson is in commercial operation. So is the Chicago-Joliet line, of about equal trackage. Years ago, the Pennsylvania Railroad and, to a greater extent since, the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, successfully introduced the overhead trolley on their suburban feeders. The Cascade Division of the Great Northern, the Illinois Central and the Chicago & Great Western have made decided advances in this direction recently. The consolidation of trolley companies in New Jersey, resulting from community of interests, tends as elsewhere to the operation of electric trunk lines between large cities. Similar consolidations of electric railways out of Cleveland and of trolley roads in many localities on a smaller scale look toward the same end. An electrical trunk line passenger railway is projected from Salt Lake City to San Francisco. Indeed, the practical operation of these systems of suburban, short-haul feed lines tends directly to the draining of surrounding territory toward a central point, from which a long-haul by the steam line to another central point facilitates distribution.

In densely populated portions of Great Britain, where the

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railway companies own their own roadbeds and are confronted by no grade crossings which limit efficient intercommunication, electric traction can be economically applied to the hauling of passenger and freight trains before the problem is successfully solved where traffic conditions are more difficult." When trains are thus propelled, lighted and heated, supplied with electric bells and fans, dispatched by telephone instead of telegraph, the moving train being kept in continuous telegraphic communication with the outer world, the railway traveller will be in a position to appreciate more fully the services of electricity."

One of the most interesting of the electrical traction systems now in operation is the elevator service. Every great city has thus its vertical, as well as horizontal, passenger railways. Cars that are hauled up and down the streets are to-day scarcely more essential to the business life of New York City than are the cars propelled up and down the elevator shafts of tall buildings, which have been referred to as a traction system on a grade of ninety degrees. There are in New York more than two thousand electrically operated elevators, using more than 15,000 horse power. The vertical trackage of these electric cars increases continually in large centres of population, where the value of real estate is great. In fact, distinct types of business and residence buildings, as, for instance, the "elevator apartment," have been thus developed. Modern buildings not electrically equipped throughout are severely handicapped in the competition for tenants.

Electricity confers one of its greatest benefits on man by furnishing him the most perfect and the most useful light known. Under ground and under water, at midnight and at midday, in the street, in the workshop and in the house, this light is made available by various ingenious devices. In towns of only a few thousand inhabitants, as well as in all large cities, the streets are illuminated by arc lamps. The glare and flicker of the early arc lamps were considered a necessary accompaniment of all electric lighting, a defect which later improvements have eliminated. The improved incandescent light has recently been pronounced by experts at the University of Heidelberg as the most sanitary of all methods of artificial illumination. The incandescent lamp has, indeed, been perfected until its light may now be modulated comparably with that of an oil lamp or gas jet. The lighting effects which were conceded to be one of the most striking features of the

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Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, were produced by small units of light—eight-candle-power incandescent lamps—instead of the usual method of arc lamps of high candle power.

The growth of electrical industries interested President McKinley. In his last speech, delivered in Buffalo on the day of the tragedy, he spoke of the necessity of the construction of a Pacific cable. Electricity was called promptly in to minister to the comfort of his sickbed. When the physicians in attendance thought the temperature of the sickroom should be reduced, an electrical fan installation was effectively cooling the air within a few hours. On the same day, a long distance telephone message from the Milburn residence in Buffalo to the Edison laboratory started on its way from Orange, N. J., under the great electrician's own supervision, the best attainable Roentgen-ray apparatus, which was received in Buffalo the next morning.

In many of the cotton factories of South Carolina, where labor is cheap, the most economical power is derived from neighboring water courses, the spinning machinery being operated by electric motors. In the armor-plate factories, electric cranes pick up great masses of steel and silently shift them from the furnace to the rolls. Electric drills pierce the earth for coal and metal-bearing ores. The ores thus extracted are crushed by electricity and refined by the same agency. Into the irrigating channels of the arid regions of the Southwest, water from the distant hills is forced by electrical pumps. The water we drink is purified by electrolysis. Electro-chemistry is preparing many of our drugs and supplying many chemicals used in the arts. In all the domain of physical science, the most minute and accurate measurements are those made by electrical apparatus; and the electric current distributed by supply companies is measured and paid for on the indications of accurate and efficient electric meters.

Economy of production and distribution is the first business lesson. The current generated at a supply station in a great city may now be used throughout business hours in moving electric elevators, furnishing motive power to shops and industrial establishments, as well as in lighting myriads of lamps in shops and residences. Thus by degrees may be overcome the difficulty with which electrical supply companies have to contend in securing a return on their investment. Where current is distributed

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for private or residential lighting only, the small number of hours over which this demand for lighting extends is an important factor in determining the cost of the service. As new commercial applications and uses for the electric current are developed, extending its use over a greater number of hours, the cost of generating and distributing becomes less, in turn inviting new applications and extensions.

The public mind is already so accustomed to the successful performance of almost prodigious tasks by electrical appliances that no special attention is aroused by the construction to-day of electrical plants which would have amazed the world a few years ago. Such, for example, are those of the New York Edison Company, the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and the Manhattan Railway Company, in which enormous boiler plants generate steam for operating engines of great power, all whose force is spent in producing electricity for generating heat, light and power.

In telegraphy the Western Union and Postal systems may be estimated at $150,000,000, employing 100,000 people. Every railroad system has its telegraph lines. The ocean cables, in which there is a good deal of American money invested, approximate 200,000 miles. There are 800 cities with fire telegraphs. It is within bounds to say that a total of $250,000,000 is invested in telegraphy.

From the time of Bell and Gray in 1877, the telephone business has grown to $400,000,000. The Bell system alone is declared to represent $200,000,000, with 2,500 exchanges and offices, and 1,700,000,000 connections a year. Its exchanges have over 26,000 employees.

In electric lighting, the capitalization of central station companies, isolated, municipal and ship-lighting plants, reaches $1,200,000,000. There are nearly 3,000 companies, with obligations of about $750,000,000, of which half is bonded. There are not many less than 30,000,000 incandescent lamps connected, while more than 600,000 arc lamps are doing duty. Central station earnings have been estimated at over $50,000,000. Electric lighting employs about 150,000 people.

Electrical street railways represent a capitalization of nearly $2,000,000,000. In 1897, they were earning $150,000,000 gross, and 220 of them showed in 1898 $130,000,000 gross earnings, at

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which rate the earnings of electrical street railways of the United States were $180,000,000 in 1900, say four per cent. on the entire investment. Their employees number 150,000.

It is estimated that over $100,000,000 are invested in electrical mine plants, $150,000,000 in power plants, and about $50,000,000 in electro-plating establishments.

The grand total of $4,000,000,000 invested in electrical industries in the United States has been materially increased in the year 1901.

A. N. BRADY.

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HAS EUROPEAN WAR AGAINST AMERICAN MANUFACTURES BEGUN?

BY O. P. AUSTIN, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

THE decrease in our exports of manufactures naturally attracts much attention both in the United States and among our trade rivals in other parts of the world. All other classes of our exports show a satisfactory condition. Agricultural products show an increase of 60 million dollars in the eight months ending with August, 1901, compared with the eight months ending August, 1900, and those of the mines, the forest and the fisheries make a satisfactory showing in 1901 as compared with last year. But in manufactures the figures of the eight months of 1901 fall 36 million dollars below those of the corresponding months of 1900, a reduction of 12 per cent.

This is the first serious check that we have encountered in the growth of our exports of manufactures, a growth in which all Americans have felt a pride, and it is therefore well to analyze it carefully and see what we can determine as to its causes, and whether the reduction is general or "local" in any sense of the term.

We have heard a good deal in the past year or two about European combinations against the United States, and now that we find not only a check, but an actual reduction of 12 per cent. in that particular class of exports against which the Europeans are supposed to be most inclined to wage war, we naturally desire to examine the question with great care, and determine, if possible, whether this is the beginning of the threatened "war against American manufactures."

Another statement which has been frequently made about the exports of manufactures, and one which has been the subject of

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much sharp discussion, is that American manufactures, and especially the great combinations, frequently force their goods into the foreign market when there is an over-production at home, by selling abroad at lower prices than in the home market.

The following questions, then, present themselves in attempting to analyze the decrease in the exports of manufactures:

(I.) Has the reduction occurred in the class of articles chiefly sold in the European countries where the alleged hostility to our manufactures is said to exist?

(II.) Is the reduction in exports of manufactures general, or confined to any particular class of articles?

(III.) Have the articles manufactured and controlled by the great business organizations, the "trusts," suffered a less reduction in exportation than those produced by the smaller manufacturers?

(IV.) Is the reduction due in any degree to reduction in prices, or is it wholly in quantity of articles exported?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is proper to say that the record of manufactures exported in the eight months of 1901 does not include the exports to the Hawaiian Islands or Porto Rico, which are now customs districts of the United States. In the corresponding eight months of 1900, the recorded exports to Hawaii and Porto Rico were over $10,000,000, and of this sum it is probable that over one-half consisted of manufactures. The real reduction of the year, therefore, is only about $30,000,000, instead of the $36,000,000 which it appears to be on the surface.

The first question to determine is whether the reduction is general, or only confined to a few articles.

If the reduction proves to be general, it may be fairly assumed to indicate a corresponding reduction in the general consuming power of the world.

If the reduction is found to be confined to a few articles, it is practicable to study conditions regarding production, prices, distribution, and consumption of each, and perhaps determine whether the cause is general or "local."

To make this analysis, I present first a statement of the total exports of the six great classes of domestic merchandise in the eight months of 1901, compared with the corresponding period of 1900.

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EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MERCHANDISE FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Classes of Products.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Agricultural	$523,133,140	$583,245,251
Manufactures	304,087,505	267,853,957
Mining	27,206,104	27,384,201
Forest	37,525,538	35,057,480
Fisheries	3,232,597	3,075,508
Miscellaneous	3,558,786	2,975,224
Total	$898,743,670	$919,591,621

It will be seen from an examination of the above that the total exports show a healthy growth, that those of agriculture show an increase of over 11 per cent., that those of the mines, the forest, and the fisheries show no material change, and that the reduction is practically confined to manufactures.

It is therefore necessary to proceed to analyze the exports of manufactures and to determine whether the reduction in this class is general, or confined to a few articles, and if the latter, what articles. I present, therefore, the following table showing the exports of all classes of manufactures in which the value exceeded $1,000,000 in the eight months ending with August, 1901, comparing them with the figures for the corresponding months of 1900. The list includes over 90 per cent. of the value of all manufactures exported.

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES FROM UNITED STATES, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE IN 1901.

Articles.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Iron and steel	$87,174,209	$69,346,379
Refined mineral oil	46,061,080	42,820,880
Copper	41,830,330	23,181,103
Leather	17,697,762	19,050,852
Cotton goods	15,274,667	16,941,254
Agricultural implements	13,854,774	14,558,166
Chemicals	9,188,129	9,805,136
Cars and carriages	7,334,172	7,643,216
Wood manufactures	7,899,847	7,456,569
Paper and manufactures	4,503,766	4,891,817
Scientific instruments	4,171,561	4,699,376
Paraffin	5,378,651	3,871,077
Tobacco manufactures	4,033,145	3,527,371
Fiber manufactures	2,872,007	3,138,527
Books, maps, etc.	2,044,306	2,268,557
Musical instruments	1,154,564	2,198,197
Starch	1,880,543	2,094,266
India rubber manufactures	1,710,965	1,996,310
Sugar and molasses	1,964,007	1,962,785
Clocks and watches	1,280,226	1,582,286
Glass and glassware	1,336,954	1,449,469
Brass	1,392,916	1,391,976
Paints	1,405,956	1,390,446
Gunpowder, etc.	1,266,059	1,284,473
Marble and stone	1,045,542	1,138,048
Soap	1,148,786	1,035,544
Wool manufactures	886,030	1,018,883
All other	19,196,551	16,110,994
Total	$304,987,505	$267,853,957

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An examination of the above table shows that the reduction is confined to a few articles, and cannot be said to be in any sense general. About three-fifths of the articles show an increase, and the principal decreases are confined to three articles—copper, iron and steel, and refined illuminating oil. The reduction in copper alone is $18,649,227, in iron and steel $17,827,830, and mineral oil $3,240,200. Of mineral oil it may be said that the decrease is wholly in price, the quantity exported in the eight months of 1901 being 589,058,603 gallons, as against 541,365,331 gallons in the same months of 1900, an actual increase of 47,693,272 gallons; while the value has fallen $3,250,200.

This analysis, then, shows that the only articles in our entire list of exportations in which the reduction is sufficient to be considered significant are copper and the manufactures of iron and steel. The reduction in these classes is, as already stated: Copper, $18,649,227; iron and steel, $17,827,830, a total of $36,477,057, or slightly more than the total reduction in manufactures as a whole, showing that in other lines the exports have increased.

We may, then, conclude that the decrease in exports is not due to a general "boycott" of American manufactures as a whole, or indeed to a general reduction in the exportation of manufactures, and with this assumption may proceed to study the exports of the two articles in which the reduction chiefly occurs, and try to determine its cause.

On taking up the schedule of iron and steel exports, in which the reduction is $17,827,830, we find it composed of a large number of items. There are twenty-five articles or classes of articles in which the value of the exports in the eight months ending with August, 1901, amounted to over $500,000. Steel rails was the largest single item, over $6,000,000; builders' hardware, over five millions; electrical machinery, about four millions; pipes and fittings, three and a half millions; locomotives, three millions; wire, about three millions; sewing machines, two and a half millions, and typewriters, metal-working machinery, and structural iron and steel each about two million dollars, while the general classification "machinery" includes a total value of twelve million dollars. Arranging these in the order of relative value, the list for the eight months of 1901, compared with the same months of 1900, stands as follows:—

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VALUE OF EXPORTATIONS OF IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURES IN THE EIGHT MONTHS ENDING WITH AUGUST 31, 1901, COMPARED WITH THE CORRESPONDING MONTHS OF 1900.

Articles.	Eight months ending August 31. 1900.	1901.
Machinery	$15,694,889	$12,063,165
Steel rails	7,761,711	6,715,113
Builders' hardware	6,583,263	5,887,658
Electrical machinery	3,590,419	3,919,574
Pipes and fittings	4,431,856	3,571,537
Locomotives	3,481,407	3,050,246
Wire	3,359,433	2,994,087
Sewing machines	3,095,842	2,528,122
Structural iron and steel	2,662,509	1,959,047
Metal-working machinery	4,712,225	1,912,297
Typewriters	1,820,107	1,905,633
Pumps and machinery	1,976,527	1,295,146
Boilers	1,223,392	903,743
Steel plates	863,921	818,000
Bars of steel	1,532,301	813,079
Shoe machinery	780,065	740,777
Castings	1,147,051	718,752
Pig iron	2,277,661	708,283
Billets, blooms, etc	938,418	671,135
Wire nails	1,275,448	633,967
Cash registers	514,501	589,466
Bar iron	239,970	569,938
Firearms	1,027,520	543,970
Stationary engines	525,696	507,696
All other	15,658,077	13,325,943
Total iron and steel manufactures	$87,174,209	$69,346,379

The first thing that strikes one on an examination of this table is the fact that the reduction is general. In practically every one of the twenty-five items there has been a greater or less reduction in the value of exportations. The next thought is that if the reduction is general the cause must be general. In other words, it can scarcely be charged that a general reduction of exports in the list of manufactures of iron and steel, including electrical and metal-working machinery, which go chiefly to Europe, builders' hardware, which goes to the West Indies, South America and the Orient, engines which go to India, Africa, and South America, sewing machines and typewriters which go to every part of the world where civilized man is to be found in any considerable numbers, wire and wire nails which go to Australia and South America and Africa, is due to a European "boycott." The reduction is so general and makes itself apparent in so many parts of the world simultaneously that the cause cannot be found in a local hostility.

The next question which suggests itself in considering this reduction is whether it is altogether in quantity, or perhaps in part at least due to a reduction in the selling price. It is well known that there was in 1899 a great advance in the price of iron and

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steel, so much so that predictions were made that exportation at the high prices which were then obtained would be impossible. This prediction was not verified, but the fact nevertheless remains that the prices of iron and steel were a year ago phenomenally high, all over the world, and that this was due to the extreme and phenomenal activity in every line of development. The whole world was engaged in the most intense industrial activity, and as a result of the extraordinary demand for material of this character, prices were excessively high. It was expected that there would be something of a reaction, and the prices in our own markets show that it has come.

Prices of Southern foundry pig iron, which in the home markets brought $15 per ton on August 1, 1900, were $10.75 on August 1, 1901; steel rails, which were $35 per ton on August 1, 1900, were $28 per ton on August 1, 1901; steel billets, which were $30 per ton last April, were $27 per ton on August 28; and Bessemer steel pig, which was $17.25 in March and April, was $16 per ton in August.

This reduction of prices in the home market suggests an inquiry as to whether there may not have been a reduction in the prices of articles exported.

To determine this I have taken all the exported articles of iron and steel in which the quantity as well as the value is stated, and obtained the average price per unit of quantity in the eight months ending with August, 1901, as compared with that of the corresponding period of 1900.

This analysis shows a reduction in the price of nearly every exported manufacture of iron and steel in which the price per unit of quantity can be determined. Iron ore fell from $3.3 per ton to $2.5; pig iron, from $18.9 per ton to $15.1; billets, from $30.6 to $24.8 per ton; steel rails, from $30.3 to $24.8; iron sheets and plates, from 3.1c. to 2c. per pound, and so on all along the line.*

The entire list of iron and steel exports in which it is possible to show the export price per unit of quantity is presented in the following table:

*These prices, it should be remembered, are the average prices per unit of quantity for the entire eight months' period, and are not comparable with those above quoted with reference to the high-water mark prices of 1900, which represent a single date or brief period.

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PRICES OF IRON AND STEEL AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Articles.	Unit of Quantity.	Average price per Unit of Quantity for Eight Months Ending with August. 1900. Dollars.	1901. Dollars.
Iron ore	Ton	3.32	2.49
Pig iron	Ton	18.88	15.13
Scrap iron	Ton	17.92	15.90
Bar iron	Lb.	.023	.017
Wire rods	Lb.	.026	.015
All other steel bars	Lb.	.018	.018
Billets, ingots and blooms	Ton	30.65	24.80
Hoop, band and scroll	Lb.	.023	.021
Railway rails (iron)	Ton	22.34	28.47
Railway rails (steel)	Ton	30.29	26.93
Iron sheets and plates	Lb.	.035	.028
Steel sheets and plates	Lb.	.017	.017
Tin and terne plates	Lb.	.073	.051
Structural iron and steel	Ton	57.01	54.08
Wire	Lb.	.027	.024
Car wheels	No.	6.88	7.22
Fire engines	No.	1,845.00	1,221.00
Locomotive engines	No.	10,581.78	9,159.89
Stationery engines	No.	583.99	586.93
Cut nails and spikes	Lb.	.026	.021
Wire nails and spikes	Lb.	.026	.021
All other nails and tacks	Lb.	.065	.063
Safes	No.	65.89	55.31

We see, then, from the two tables which have been presented (1.) that the reduction in value of exports of iron and steel runs through the entire list, and is thus general and not "local"; (2.) that in nearly every case where the value per unit of quantity can be determined the price in 1901 is below that of 1900, and that much of the reduction in the total exports of iron and steel may therefore be charged against the reduction in prices.

The next question that suggests itself is whether this reduction in exports of iron and steel manufactures is confined to the United States, or whether it extends to other great manufacturing countries. If the latter be true it completes the assurance that the reduction is not due to a boycott of American products, or to a falling off in the relative popularity of our manufactures. To determine this I present the following statement showing the value of exports of iron and steel from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States in the twelve months ending June 30, 1900 and 1901:

EXPORTS OF IRON AND STEEL AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF DURING THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1900 AND 1901.

Countries.	1900.	1901.
*United Kingdom	$160,460,000	$133,486,000
Germany	107,110,000	120,304,000
United States	121,992,590	117,495,137
†France	37,600,000	35,164,000
‡Belgium	23,260,000	19,224,000

*Exclusive of machinery, cutlery and hardware.
†Including machinery, cutlery, arms and implements.
‡Figures are for eight months ending with August, and include arms, machinery and implements.

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It will be seen from an examination of the above table that the United States is not alone in the reduction of exports of iron and steel, but that the decrease extends to all the great manufacturing and exporting nations of the world, with the single exception of Germany. This exceptional condition in the exports of Germany is believed to be chiefly due to the depression which is known to have existed in that country for some months, and to the efforts of German manufacturers to unload by exportation the accumulated stocks for which their home market no longer offers an attractive field.

We may sum up, then, the cause of the decrease in the exportation of American manufactures of iron and steel by saying (1.) that it is partly due to the absence of the figures of exports to the Hawaiian Islands and Porto Rico, which were about $7,000,000 per annum in iron and steel alone; (2.) that it is partly due to a reduction in price of the articles exported; (3.) that it is partly due to the general reduction in demand all over the world; (4.) that it is partly due to the conditions in Germany which have recently forced this class of articles from the German workshops upon the markets of the world at abnormally low prices; (5.) that as it occurs in articles which go to all parts of the world it cannot be said to be due to local causes or to attempts to exclude American manufactures from European markets; (6.) that the fact that other great manufacturing countries generally are feeling similar and even greater reductions shows that the causes are general and not due to unpopularity of American manufactures.

The only other article which shows a material reduction in value of the exports is copper, and this reduction seems to be due to causes entirely different from those found in iron and steel or in mineral oil. Copper exportations have fallen enormously, the figures being for the eight months of 1900 333,340,725 pounds of ingots, bars, plates, etc., valued at $55,772,166; and in eight months of 1901 252,769,328 pounds, valued at $41,260,376. Adding other manufactures, the total for eight months of 1900 is $57,852,960, and in eight months of 1901 $43,267,021, a fall of 25 per cent. in total value. It cannot be said that any considerable part of this fall is due to a reduction in price, the average value per pound being in the eight months of 1900 16.73 cents, and in 1900 16.32 cents.

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The chief exports of copper from the United States are to the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Netherlands and Belgium. The official reports of the French Government show that the imports of copper into France were, in the year ending June 20, 1901, 577,134 metric quintals, against 561,331 in the preceding year, a material increase. In Germany the imports of crude copper for the same periods were 713,514 metric quintals, against 786,114 for the preceding year. In Netherlands the imports of crude copper were 48,214 tons in 1901, against 52,629 tons in the preceding year. In the United Kingdom the imports for the eight months ending with August, 1901, were: Of regulus and precipitate, 59,752 tons, against 55,833 tons in the corresponding months of 1900; of ore, 64,089 tons, against 75,733 tons in 1900; and of copper, unwrought and part wrought, 45,161 tons, against 50,425 tons in the corresponding months of the preceding year. In copper, wrought and unwrought, in which the total reduction was a little over 5,000 tons, the fall in imports from the United States alone was from 20,790 tons in eight months of 1900 to 14,124 tons in eight months of 1901, the entire reduction thus being from the United States.

It thus appears that the reduction in the total imports of the principal European countries is by no means in proportion to the reduction in our exports to them; in other words, that they have increased their purchases from other countries, while they have been reducing their purchases from the United States. The United Kingdom, for instance, in the eight months of 1901 increased her imports of copper ore from Cape of Good Hope three million tons and from Australia over seven million tons, and of copper, wrought and unwrought, from Chile about two million tons.

An examination of production in other parts of the world seems to strengthen the conclusion that the European countries are purchasing elsewhere at least a part of the supplies of copper which they formerly obtained from the United States. The production of copper in Australia, which, according to Merton & Co., of London, was 8,300 tons in 1889, was, according to Rothwell, 20,750 tons in 1899; Japan, in 1889, 15,000 tons, and in 1899, 27,000 tons; Mexico, in 1889, 3,780 tons, and in 1899, 19,000 tons; while the latest information indicates that the copper mines of Chile are rapidly increasing their output. This increase in

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production in other parts of the world, coupled with the increase in American production from 105,774 long tons in 1889 to 259,517 tons in 1899 and 270,600 tons in 1900, seems to have caused a greater reduction in price in other countries than the United States. This is proven not only by the fact that the European countries have made a less reduction in their purchases from those countries than in their imports from the United States, but also by the very remarkable fact that foreign copper is now actually invading the markets of the United States, the greatest copper-producing country of the world. In the fiscal year 1901 the imports of manufactured copper into the United States amounted to about $10,000,000 in value, and the total, including ore and regulus, was $20,581,716, as against $15,489,603 in 1900, $6,817,056 in 1899, $3,905,011 in 1898, $1,625,506 in 1897, and $801,332 in 1895.

To sum up this study of the reduction in the exportation of American manufactures, it may be said (1.) that the reduction is almost wholly in three articles, mineral oil, iron and steel, and copper, and that most other classes of manufactures continue to show a healthy growth in exportation; (2.) that the reduction in mineral oil is wholly in price, and not in quantity; (3.) that the reduction in iron and steel is partly due to the absence of figures on the exports of Hawaii and Porto Rico, partly to a fall in prices, partly to forced sales by Germany, and partly to the general reduction of demand all over the world, and in no sense to a "boycott" of American manufactures; and (4.) that the reduction in copper is due in some degree to a decreased demand abroad, and largely to increased production and reduced prices in the other producing countries of the world.

O. P. AUSTIN.

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ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—VI.

BY H. G. WELLS.

VIII. The Larger Synthesis.

We have seen that the essential process arising out of the growth of science and mechanism and more particularly out of the still developing new facilities of locomotion and communication which science has afforded is the deliquescence of the social organizations of the past and the synthesis of ampler and still ampler and more complicated and still more complicated social unities. The suggestion is powerful, the conclusion is hard to resist, that, through whatever disorders of danger and conflict, whatever centuries of misunderstanding and bloodshed, men may still have to pass, this process, nevertheless, aims at and will finally attain to the establishment of one world state at peace within itself. In the economic sense indeed a world state is already established. Even to-day we do all buy and sell in the same markets—albeit the owners of certain ancient rights levy their tolls here and there—and the Hindoo starves, the Italian feels the pinch, before the Germans or the English go short of bread. There is no real autonomy any more in the world, no simple right to an absolute independence such as formerly the Swiss could claim. The nations and boundaries of to-day do no more than mark claims to exemptions, privileges and corners in the market—claims valid enough to those whose minds and souls are turned towards the past, but absurdities to those who look to the future as the end and justification of our present stresses. The claim to political liberty amounts, as a rule, to no more than the claim of a man to live in a parish without observing sanitary precautions or paying rates—because he had an excellent great-grandfather. Against all these old isolations,

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these obsolescent particularisms, the forces of mechanical and scientific development fight and fight irresistibly; and upon the general recognition of this conflict, upon the intelligence and courage with which its inflexible conditions are negotiated, depends very largely the amount of bloodshed and avoidable misery the coming years will hold.

The final attainment of this great synthesis, like the social deliquescence and reconstruction dealt with in the earlier of these Anticipations, has an air of being a process independent of any collective or conscious will in man, as being the expression of a greater Will; it is working now and may work out to its end vastly, and yet at times almost imperceptibly, as some huge secular movement in Nature goes on to its culmination.

Already the need of some synthesis at least ampler than existing national organizations is so apparent in the world that at least five spacious movements of coalescence exist to-day; there is the movement called Anglo-Saxonism, the allied but finally very different movement of British Imperialism, the Pan Germanic movement, Pan Slavism and the conception of a great union of the "Latin" peoples. Under the outrageous treatment of the white peoples an idea of unifying the "Yellow" peoples is pretty certain to became audibly and visibly operative before many years. These are all deliberate and justifiable suggestions and they all aim at sacrificing minor differences in order to link like to like in greater matters, and so secure, if not physical predominance in the world, at least an effective defensive strength for their racial, moral, customary or linguistic differences against the aggressions of other possible coalescences. But these syntheses or other similar synthetic conceptions, if they do not contrive to establish a rational social unity by sanely negotiated unions, will be forced to fight for physical predominance in the world. The whole trend of forces in the world is against the preservation of *local* social systems however greatly and spaciously conceived. Yet it is quite possible that several or all of the cultures that will arise out of the development of these Pan this-and-that movements, may in many of their features survive, as the culture of the Jews has survived, political obliteration, and may disseminate themselves, as the Jewish system has disseminated itself, over the whole world city.

It is doubtful if either the Latin or the Pan Slavic idea

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contains the promise of any great political unification. The elements of the Latin synthesis are dispersed in South and Central America and about the Mediterranean basin in a way that offers no prospect of an economic unity between them. The best elements of the French people lie in the Western portion of what must become the greatest urban region of the Old World, the Rhine-Netherlandish region; the interests of North Italy draw that region away from the Italy of Rome and the South towards the Swiss and South Germany, and the Spanish and Portuguese speaking half-breeds of South America have not only their own coalescences to arrange, but they lie already under the political tutelage of the United States. Nowhere except in France and North Italy is there any prospect of such an intellectual and educational evolution as is necessary before a great scheme of unification can begin to take effect. And the difficulties in the way of the Pan Slavic dream are far graver. Its realization is enormously hampered by the division of its languages, and the fact that in the Bohemian language, in Polish and in Russian there exist distinct literatures, almost equally splendid in achievement but equally insufficient in quantity and range to establish a claim to replace all other Slavonic dialects. Russia, which should form the central mass of this synthesis, stagnates, relatively to the Western states, under the rule of reactionary intelligences; it does not develop and does not seem likely to develop the merest beginnings of that great educated middle class with which the future so enormously rests. The Russia of to-day is indeed very little more than a vast breeding ground for an illiterate peasantry and the forecasts of its future greatness entirely ignore that dwindling significance of mere numbers in warfare which is the clear and necessary consequence of mechanical advance. To a large extent, I believe, the Western Slavs will follow the Prussians and Lithuanians and be incorporated in the urbanization of Western Europe, and the remoter portions of Russia seem destined to become—are indeed becoming—Abyss, a wretched and disorderly Abyss that will not even be formidable to the armed and disciplined peoples of the civilization of the new era.

The chances seem altogether against the existence of a great Slavonic power in the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century. They seem at the first glance to lie just as

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heavily in favor of an aggressive Pan Germanic power struggling towards a great and commanding position athwart central Europe and western Asia, and turning itself at last upon the defeated Slavonic disorder. There can be no doubt that at present the Germans have the most efficient middle class in the world, their rapid economic progress is to a very large extent indeed a triumph of intelligence, and their political and probably their military and naval services are still conducted with a capacity and breadth of view that find no parallel in the world. But the very efficiency of the German as a German to-day and the habits and traditions of victory he has accumulated for nearly forty years may prove in the end a very doubtful blessing to Europe as a whole or even to his own grandchildren. Geographical contours, economic forces, the trend of invention and social development point to a unification of all western Europe, but they certainly do not point to its Germanization. I have already given reasons for anticipating that the French language may not only hold its own, but prevail against German in western Europe. And there are certain other obstacles in the way even of the union of indisputable Germans. One element in German's present efficiency must become more and more of an encumbrance as the years pass. The Germanic idea is deeply interwoven with the traditional Empire and with the martinet methods of the Prussian monarchy. The intellectual development of the Germans is defined to a very large extent by a court directed officialdom. In many things that court is still inspired by the noble traditions of education and discipline that come from the days of German adversity, and the predominance of the Imperial will does no doubt give a unity of purpose to German policy and action that adds greatly to its efficacy. But for a capable ruler even more than for a radiantly stupid monarch the price a nation must finally pay is heavy. Most energetic and capable people are a little intolerant of unsympathetic capacity, are apt on the under side of their egotism to be jealous, assertive and aggressive. In the present Empire of Germany there are no other great figures to balance the Imperial personage, and I do not see how other great figures are likely to arise. A great number of fine and capable persons must be failing to develop, failing to tell, under the shadow of this too prepotent monarchy. There are certain limiting restrictions imposed upon Germans through the Im-

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perial activity that must finally be bad for the intellectual atmosphere which is Germany's ultimate strength.

After all, I do not see that she is in a greatly stronger position than was France in the early sixties; and indeed in many respects, and allowing for the higher standards of efficiency of this present time, her present predominance is curiously analogous to that of the French Empire in those years. Death at any time may end the career of the present ruler of Germany—there is no certain insurance of one single life. This withdrawal would leave Germany organized entirely with reference to a court; and there is no trustworthy guarantee that the succeeding Royal Personality may not be something infinitely more vain and aggressive, or something weakly self-indulgent or unpatriotic and morally indifferent.

In another way the intensely monarchical and aristocratic organization of the German Empire will stand in the way of the political synthesis of greater Germany. Necessary factors in that synthesis will be Holland and Switzerland, little, advantageously situated peoples, saturated with ideas of personal freedom. One can imagine a German Swiss at any rate gladly merging himself in a great Pan-Germanic republican state, but to bow the knee to the luridly decorated God of His Imperial Majesty's Fathers will be an altogether more difficult exploit for self-respecting man.

Moreover, before Germany can unify to the East she must fight the Russian, and to unify to the West she must fight the French and perhaps the English, and she may have to fight a combination of these powers. I think the military strength of France is enormously underrated. Upon this matter M. Bloch—that alleged Angel of Peace—should be read. Indisputably the French were beaten in 1870, indisputably they have fallen behind in their long struggle to attain equality with the English on the sea, but neither of these things effaces the future of the French. The disasters of 1870 were probably of the utmost benefit to the altogether too sanguine French imagination. They cleared the French minds of the delusion that personal Imperialism is the way to do the desirable thing, a delusion the Germans (and, it would seem, a few queer Englishmen and still queerer Americans) entertain. The French have done much to demonstrate the possibility of a stable military republic. They

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have disposed of crown and court and held themselves in order for thirty good years, they have dissociated their national life from any form of religious profession, they have contrived a freedom of thought and writing that in spite of much conceit to the contrary is quite impossible among the English-speaking peoples. I find no reason to doubt the implication of M. Bloch that on land to-day the French are relatively far stronger than they were in 1870, that the evolution of military expedients has been all in favor of the French character and intelligence, and that even a single-handed war between France and Germany to-day might have a very different issue from that former struggle. In such a conflict it will be Germany now and not France that will have pawned her strength to the English-speaking peoples on the high seas. And France will not fight alone. She will fight for Switzerland or Luxembourg or the mouth of the Rhine. She will fight with the gravity of remembered humiliations, with the whole awakened Slav race at the back of her antagonist and very probably with the support of the English-speaking peoples.

It must be pointed out how strong seems the tendency of the German Empire to repeat the history of Holland upon a larger scale. While the Dutch poured out all their strength upon the seas, in a conflict with the English that at the utmost could give them only trade, they let the possibilities of a great Low German synthesis pass utterly out of being. (In those days Low Germany stretched to Arras and Douay.) They positively dragged the English into the number of their enemies. And to-day the Germans invade the sea with a threat and intention that will certainly create a countervailing American navy, fundamentally modify the policy of Great Britain, such as it is, and very possibly go far to effect the synthesis of the English-speaking peoples.

So involved, I do not see that the existing Germanic synthesis is likely to prevail in the close economic unity, the urban region that will arise in western Europe. I imagine that the German Empire that is the organized expression of German aggression to-day will be either shattered or weakened to the pitch of great compromises by a series of wars by land and sea, it will be forced to develop the autonomy of its rational middle class in the struggles that will render these compromises possible, and it will be

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finally not Imperial German ideas, but central European ideas possibly more akin to Swiss conceptions, a civilized republicanism finding its clearest expression in the French language, that will be established upon a bilingual basis throughout western Europe and increasingly predominant over the whole European mainland and the Mediterranean basin, as the twentieth century closes.

And while the great states of the continent of Europe are hammering down their obstructions of language and national tradition or raising the educational level above them until a working unity is possible, will there also be a great synthesis of the English-speaking peoples going on? I am inclined to believe that there will be such a synthesis and that the head and centre of the new unity will be the great urban region that is developing between Chicago and the Atlantic, and which will lie mainly but not entirely south of the St. Lawrence. Inevitably, I think, that region must become the intellectual, political and industrial centre of any permanent unification of the English-speaking states. There will, I believe, develop about that centre a great federation of white English-speaking peoples, a federation having America north of Mexico as its central mass, a federation that may conceivably include Scandinavia, and its federal government will sustain a common fleet and protect or dominate or actually administer most or all of the non-white states of the present British Empire, and in addition much of the south and middle Pacific, the East and West Indies, the rest of America, and the larger part of black Africa. Quite apart from the dominated races, such an English-speaking state should have by the century-end a practically homogeneous citizenship of at least a hundred million sound-bodied, educated and capable *men*. It should be the first of the three powers of the world, and it should face the organizing syntheses of Europe and eastern Asia with an intelligent sympathy. By the year 2000 all its common citizens should certainly be in touch with the thought of continental Europe through the medium of French, its English language should be already rooting firmly through all the world beyond its confines, and its statesmanship should be preparing openly and surely, and discussing calmly with the public mind of the European and probably of the Yellow state, the possible coalescences and conventions, the obliteration of custom houses,

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the homologization of laws and coinage and measures and the mitigation of monopolies and special claims, by which the final peace of the world may be assured forever. Such a synthesis at any rate of the peoples now using the English tongue I regard not only as a possible but as a probable thing.

Now, the more one descends from the open uplands of wide generalization to the parallel jungle of particulars the more dangerous does the road of prophesying become, yet nevertheless there may be some possibility of speculating how in the case of the English-speaking synthesis at least this effective New Republic may begin visibly to shape itself out and appear. It will appear first, I believe, as a conscious organization of intelligent and quite possibly in some cases wealthy men, as a movement having distinct social and political aims, confessedly ignoring most of the existing apparatus of political control or using it only as an incidental implement, in the attainment of these aims. It will be very loosely organized in its earlier stages, a mere movement of a number of people in a certain direction, who will presently discover with a sort of surprise the common object towards which they are all moving.

Already there are some interesting aspects of public activity that, diverse though their aims may seem, do nevertheless serve to show the possible line of the development of this New Republic in the coming time. For example, as a sort of preliminary sigh before the stirring of a larger movement there are various Anglo-American movements and leagues to be noted. Associations for entertaining travelling samples of the American leisure class in guaranteed English country houses, for bringing them into momentary physical contact with real titled persons at lunches and dinners, and for having them collectively lectured by respectable English authors and divines, are no doubt trivial things enough, but a snob sometimes shows how the wind blows better than a serious man. The Empire may catch the American as the soldier caught the Tartar. There is something very much more spacious than such things as this, latent in both the British and the American mind and observable, for instance, in the altered tone of the presses of both countries since the Venezuela Message and the Spanish-American war. Certain projects of a much ampler sort have already been put forward. An interesting proposal of an interchangeable citizenship, so that with

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a change of domicile an Englishman should have the chance of becoming a citizen of the United States and an American a British citizen or a voter in an autonomous British colony, for example, has been made. Such schemes will no doubt become frequent and will afford much scope for discussion in both countries during the next decade or so.* The American Constitution and the British crown and constitution will have to be modified or shelved at some stage in this synthesis, and for certain types of intelligence there could be no more attractive problem. Certain curious changes in the colonial point of view will occur as these discussions open out. The United States of America are rapidly taking, or have already taken, the ascendency in the iron and steel and electrical industries out of the hands of the British, they are developing a far ampler and more thorough system of higher scientific education than the British, and the spirit of efficiency percolating from their more efficient businesses is probably higher in their public services. These things render the transfer of the present mercantile and naval ascendency of Great Britain to the United States during the next two or three decades a very probable thing, and when this is accomplished the problem how far Colonial loyalty is the fruit of Royal Visits and sporadic knighthood and how far it has relation to the existence of a predominant fleet, will be near its solution. An interesting point about such discussion as this, in which, indeed, in all probability the nascent consciousness of the New Republic will emerge, will be the solution which this larger synthesis will offer to certain miserable difficulties of the present time. Government by the elect of the first families of Great Britain has in the last hundred years made Ireland and South Africa two open sores of irreconcilable wrong. These two English-speaking communities will never emerge from wretchedness under the vacillating, vote-catching incapacity of British Imperialism, and it is impossible that the British power having embittered them should ever dare to set them free. But within such an ampler synthesis as the New Republic will seek, these states could emerge to an equal fellowship that would take all the bitterness from their unforgettable past.

*I foresee great scope for the ingenious persons who write so abundantly to the London evening papers upon etymological points, issues in heraldry and the correct Union Jack, in the very pleasing topic of a possible Anglo-American flag (for use on symbolical occasions).

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Another type of public activity which foreshadows an aspect under which the New Republic will emerge is to be found in the unofficial organizations that have come into existence in Great Britain to watch and criticise various public departments. There is, for example, the Navy League, a body of intelligent and active persons with a distinctly expert qualification which has intervened very effectively in naval control during the last few years. There is also at present a vast amount of disorganized but quite intelligent discontent with the tawdry futilities of army reform that occupy the War Office. It becomes apparent that there is no hope of a fully efficient and well equipped official army under parliamentary government, and with that realization there will naturally appear a disposition to seek some way to military efficiency, as far as is legally possible, outside War Office control. Already recruiting is falling off; it will probably fall off more and more as the patriotic emotions evoked by the Boer war fade away, and no trivial addition to pay or privilege will restore it. Elementary education has at least raised the intelligence of the British lower classes to a point where the prospect of fighting in distant lands under unsuitably educated British officers of means and gentility, with a defective War Office equipment and inferior weapons, has lost much of its romantic glamour. But an unofficial body that set itself to the establishment of a school of military science,* to the sane organization and criticism of military experiments in tactics and equipment, and the raising for experimental purposes of volunteer companies and battalions, would find no lack of men. * * * What an unofficial syndicate of capable persons of the new sort may do in these matters has been shown in the case of the *Turbinia,* the germ of an absolute revolution in naval construction.

Such attempts at unofficial soldiering would be entirely in the spirit in which I believe the New Republic will emerge, but it is in another line of activity that the growing new consciousness will presently be much more distinctly apparent. It is increasingly evident that to organize and control public education is beyond the power of a democratic government. The meanly equipped and pretentiously conducted private schools of Great Britain, staffed with ignorant and incapable young men, exist on the other hand, to witness that public education is no matter

*With a chair for Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, for example.

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to be left to merely commercial enterprise working upon parental ignorance and social prejudice. The necessary condition to the effective development of the New Republic is a universally accessible, spacious and varied educational system working in an atmosphere of efficient criticism and general intellectual activity. Schools alone are of no avail, universities are merely dens of the higher cramming, unless the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and lecturers are in touch with and under the light of an abundant, contemporary and fully adult intellectuality. At present, in Great Britain at least, the headmasters entrusted with the education of the bulk of the influential men of the next decades are conspicuously second rate men, forced and etiolated creatures, scholarship boys manured with annotated editions and brought up under and protected from all current illumination by the kalepot of the Thirty-nine Articles. Many of them are less capable teachers and even less intelligent men than many board school teachers. There is, however, urgent need of an absolutely new type of school, a school that shall be at least so skilfully conducted as to supply the necessary training in mathematics and languages, in drawing and science, without either consuming all the leisure of the boy or destroying his individuality, as it is destroyed by the pretentious blunderers of to-day; and there is an equally manifest need of a new type of university, something other than a happy fastness for those precociously brilliant creatures—creatures whose brilliance is too often the hectic indication of a constitutional unsoundness of mind—who can "get in" before the portcullis of the nineteenth birthday falls. These new educational elements may either grow slowly through the steady and painful pressure of remorseless facts, or, as the effort to evoke the New Republic becomes more conscious and deliberate, they may be rapidly brought into being by the conscious endeavors of capable men. Assuredly they will never be developed by the wisdom of the government of the gray. It may be pointed out that in an individual and disorganized way something in this direction is already being done. Such great business managers as Mr. Andrew Carnegie, for example, and many other of the wealthy efficients of the United States of America are displaying a strong disinclination to found families of functionless shareholders and a strong disposition to contribute by means of colleges, libraries and splendid foundations to the future

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of the whole English-speaking world. Indisputably these men are doing a fundamentally important work in these endowments, and as indisputably many of their successors—I do not mean the heirs to their private wealth, but the men of the same type who will play their *rôle* in the coming years—will carry on this spacious work with a wider prospect and a clearer common understanding.

The establishment of modern and efficient schools is alone not sufficient for the intellectual needs of the coming time. The school and university are merely the preparation for the life of mental activity in which the citizen of the coming state will live. The three years of university and a lifetime of stagnation which constitutes the mind's history of many a public schoolmaster for example to-day will be impossible under the new needs. The old-fashioned university, secure in its omniscience, merely taught; the university of the coming time will as its larger function criticise and learn. It will be organized for research, for the criticism, that is, of thought and nature. And a subtler and a greater task before those who will presently swear allegiance to the New Republic is to aid and stimulate that process of sound adult mental activity which is the cardinal element in human life. After all, in spite of the pretentious impostors who trade upon the claim, literature—contemporary literature—is the breath of civilized life, and those who sincerely think and write the salt of the social body. To mumble over the past, to live on the classics, however splendid, is senility. The New Republic will sustain its authors. In the past the author lived within the limits of his patron's susceptibility, and led the world, so far as he did lead it, from that cage. In the present he lives within the limits of a particularly distressful and ill-managed market. He must please and interest the public before he may reason with it, and even to reach the public ear involves other assiduities than writing. To write one's best is surely sufficient work for a man, but unless the author is prepared to add to his literary toil the correspondence and alert activity of a business man, he may find that no measure of acceptance will save him from a mysterious poverty. Publishing has become a trade, differing only from the trade in pork or butter, in the tradesman's careless book-keeping and his professed indifference to the quality of his goods. But, unless the whole mass of argument in these Anticipations is false,

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publishing is as much or even more of a public concern than education and as little to be properly discharged by private men working for profit. On the other hand, it is not to be undertaken by a government of the gray, for a confusion cannot undertake to clarify itself. It is an activity in which the New Republic will necessarily engage.

The men of the New Republic will be intelligently critical men and they will have the courage of their critical conclusions. For the sake of the English tongue, for the sake of the English peoples, they will set themselves to put temptingly within the reach of all readers of the tongue and all possible readers of the tongue, an abundance of living literature. They will endeavor to shape the great publishing trusts and associations that will have the same relations to the publishing offices of to-day that a medical association has to a patent medicine dealer. They will not only publish, but sell; their efficient book shops, their efficient system of book distribution will replace the present haphazard dealings of quite illiterate persons under whose shadows people in the provinces live to-day.* If one of these publishing groups decides that a book, new or old, is of value to the public mind, I conceive the copyright will be secured and the book produced all over the world in every variety of form and price that seems necessary to its exhaustive sale. Moreover, these publishing associations will sustain spaciously conceived organs of opinion and criticism, which will begin by being patiently and persistently good and so develop into power. And the more distinctly the New Republic emerges, the less danger there will be of these associations being allowed to outlive their service in a state of ossified authority. New groups of men and new phases of thought will organize their publishing associations as children learn to talk.

And while the New Republic is thus developing its idea of itself and organizing its mind, it will also be growing out of the confused and intricate businesses and undertakings and public

*In a large town like Folkestone, for example, it is practically impossible to buy any book but a current novel unless one has ascertained the names of the author, the book, the edition, and the publisher. There is no index in existence kept up to date that supplies these particulars. If, for example, one wants—as I want—(1) to read all that I have not read of the works of Mr. Frank Stockton; (2) to read a book of essays by Professor Ray Lankester, whose title I have forgotten; and (3) to buy the most convenient edition of the works of Swift, one has to continue wanting until the British Museum Library chances to get in one's way. The book-selling trade supplies no remedy.

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services of the present time, into a recognizable material body. The synthetic process that is going on in the case of many of the larger businesses of the world, that formation of Trusts that bulks so large in American discussion, is of the utmost significance in this connection. Conceivably the first impulse to form Trusts came from a mere desire to control competition and economize working expenses, but even in its very first stages this process of coalescence has passed out of the region of commercial operations into that of public affairs. The Trust develops into the organization under men more capable than any sort of public officials, of entire industries, of entire departments of public life, quite outside the ostensible democratic government system altogether. The whole apparatus of communications, which we have seen to be of such primary importance in the making of the future, promises to pass, in the case of the United States at least, out of the region of scramble into the domain of deliberate control. The American iron and steel industries have been drawn together and developed in a manner that is a necessary preliminary to the capture of the empire of the seas. These things are not the work of dividend hunting imbeciles, but of men who regard wealth as a convention, as a means to spacious material ends. There is an animated little paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of Mr. Wilshire which bears upon its forefront the maxim, "Let the Nation own the Trusts." Well, under their mantle of property, the Trusts grow into continually more elaborate and efficient machines of production and public service and the formal Nation chooses its Bosses and reads its illustrated press. I must confess I do not see the negro and the poor Irishman and all the emigrant sweepings of Europe, which constitute the American Abyss, uniting to form that great Socialist party that with a little demonstrating and balloting will presently take over the foundry and the electrical works, the engine shed and the signal box, from the capable men in charge. But that a confluent system of Trust-owned business and of universities and reorganized military and naval services, may presently discover an essential unity of purpose, presently begin thinking a literature and behaving like a State, is a much more possible thing. . . .

So it is, or at least in some such ways, that I conceive the growing sense of itself which the new class of modern efficients will develop, will become manifest, here and there, in movements

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and concerns that are now heterogeneous and distinct, but will presently drift to co-operation and coalescence. This idea of a synthetic reconstruction within the bodies of the English-speaking states may very possibly clothe itself in quite other formulæ than my phrase of the New Republic, but the need is with us, the social elements are developing among us, the appliances are arranging themselves for the hands that will use them, and I cannot but believe that the idea of a spacious common action will presently come. In a few years I believe many men who are now rather aimless, men who have disconsolately watched the collapse of the old Liberalism, will be clearly telling themselves and one another of their adhesion to this new ideal. They will be working in schools and newspaper offices, in foundry and factory, in colleges and laboratories, in county councils and on school boards —even, it may be, in pulpits—for the time when the coming of the New Republic will be ripe. It may even be dawning in the schools of law—because presently there will be a new and scientific handling of jurisprudence. The highly educated and efficient officers' mess will rise mechanically and drink to the Monarch and sit down to go on discussing the New Republic's growth. I do not see, indeed, why an intelligent Monarch, in these days, should not waive his Divine Right and come into the movement with these others. When the growing conception touches, as in America it has already touched, the legacy leaving class, there will be fewer new Asylums, perhaps, but more university chairs. . . . So it is I conceive the elements of the New Republic taking shape and running together through the social mass, picking themselves out more and more clearly, from the shareholder, the parasitic speculator and the wretched multitudes of the Abyss. The New Republicans will constitute an informal and open freemasonry. In all sorts of ways they will be influencing and controlling the apparatus of the ostensible governments; they will be pruning irresponsible property, checking speculators and controlling the abyssward drift; but at that, at an indirect control, at any sort of fiction the New Republic, from the very nature of its cardinal ideas, will not rest. There will be a time, in peace or under stresses of warfare, when the theory will have been worked out and the details will be ready and accepted and the new order will be ready to begin. And then, indeed, it will begin.

H. G. WELLS.

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A MODERN ITALIAN VIEW OF HUMOR.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

(Second Paper.)

SIGNOR BELLEZZA talks, and we all talk, of English humor, American humor, German humor, Spanish humor, French humor, Italian humor, as if they were essentially unlike, when essentially they are alike. I will not try to say how, for that way danger lies: the danger of trying to say what humor essentially is. I notice Signor Bellezza himself shuns that as much as possible, and contents himself with giving instances without theories. We know a joke when we see it, as we know a poem when we see it; but what a joke is we can no more safely undertake to say than what a poem is. There the thing is: like it or leave it, but do not expect any one to explain to you the grounds of your liking or leaving it. That is what Signor Bellezza mainly seems to say, and he is quite in the right. If he sometimes tries to distinguish between the different kinds of humor, by nationalities, it is perhaps because he has been tempted beyond his strength. For my own part, in the kind of humor which I know best—the American, namely—I have found examples of it in regions so remote that I have been forced to choose between faith in the solidarity of humor everywhere, and fear that the aliens are now and then able, by means of some telepathic plagiary, to pilfer us of our good things before we say them.

I was always amused by the saying of a Western farmer in a very wet season, that "It rained and rained, and after a while it got so it set up nights and rained." But in Switzerland I heard of an old peasant who remarked of a very cold season, "The winter has come to spend the summer with us," and then I felt

*Paolo Bellezza. "Humour." Strenna a Beneficio del Pio Istituto dei Rachitici. Milano. 1900.

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that all republican peoples were really one, or else that American humor and Swiss humor were of the same native picturesqueness.

I.

In that chapter on grisly humor, which is one of the best in the book, and is the longest, we Americans enter freely, and chiefly, as we should, in the person of Mark Twain, who is cited four times to Thackeray's once, though he is distanced by Dickens. It is interesting to note how universal this humor is, and it seems to be really the most humorous humor, in imparting that shock of contrasts, which seems to be the essence of humor, or its prime motive. Shakespeare, Fielding, Guerrazzi, Godfrey Keller, Bret Harte, Heine, Quevedo, Addison, Larra, Kipling, Steele, Flaubert, Alfieri, Byron, Daudet, Dostoyevsky, Balzac, Hoffmann and Charles Mathews are by no means all the others who figure in this famous chapter, in support of my theory that humor is human and not national. When it comes to grinning back at skeletons, mocking at murder and smiling at suicide it appears that Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards and Frenchmen are pretty much alike. The honors are not quite so easy in the matter of gallows-humor; the North carries these off, as has already been allowed. In regard to cannibalism, Signor Bellezza thinks it the forte of Mark Twain, as a humorous inspiration. "And here," he says, "I do not mean fugitive touches, but whole stories based, if I may so express myself, upon anthropophagy," and in sufficient proof he limits himself to a synopsis of that terrible tale of "Cannibalism in the Cars," which has made us all shudder. He seems not to know of that yet awfuller adventure with the box of rifles in the express car, which in the way of grisly humor may challenge all literature for its like. In bizarre humor he puts us well towards the head, instancing from Mark Twain a passage out of "Adam's Diary," registering Adam's speculations as to the real nature of his first born and his place in zoölogy, and "Lucretia Smith's Soldier," whom Lucretia nurses back to life and finds the wrong man when he is well enough to have the bandages taken from his face. From George Derby (John Phœnix) he gives that early humorist's plan for the reform of language on a mathematical basis, with a maximum grade of 100. "Example: 'How are you?' 'I am 70, but my

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mother, poor thing, is only 15, and I am afraid that before night she will not be more than 10.' Or: 'Madam, I am only 7 rich, but I love you 100, and I hope by hard work to put myself in a 65 position.'"

II.

I am tempted to throw together what Signor Bellezza has to say of most significance concerning all the aspects of the business in hand. He confesses: "If I had to make a treatise in due form, or rather a regular discourse, I should find myself baffled at the start, because all treatises commence, as is just, with a bold definition, and humor cannot be defined. . . . It is a specialty of the Northern peoples, somewhat like the beer that we meridional folk find somewhat harsh to the palate, and would not like for our daily drink. It is neither acuteness, nor grace, nor *verve;* it has generally a serious aspect when all around are laughing, as Addison says, . . . and according to the greatest living humorist, Mark Twain, 'the humorist when he tells a story seems not to have the remotest suspicion that there is anything funny in it.' . . . Precisely here is the essential difference that distinguishes the humorous from the comic, of which it is yet a form; it springs rather from a contrast, and the contrast is . . . that of sorrow and joy, a pathetic situation and a comic circumstance; as has been felicitously said, 'it is an oscillation between laughter and tears.' . . . The humorist forbears the jeremiad, the lamentation, even when his soul is running over with anguish. He would not shed rivers of tears over the fate of man here below, doomed to yearn for the true, and to know it only with sore labor and in little part; but he will content himself in agreeing with Larra, that 'all the truths in this world could be written on a cigarette paper.' The social injustices that provoke the invectives of the pessimist and the sociologist he will formulate in the fashion of that famous sentence of Guerrazzi, 'Force is the great mother Eve of all the rights.' . . . But here let us understand ourselves clearly. If humor consisted solely in recognizing and formulating the relations that connect joy and sorrow, their confusion and their perennial alternation one after the other in human destiny, I should be ready to say that the humorists were as numerous as the authors, in fact, as the men themselves. . . . The

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humorist is he who does not keep on singing this truth in all the various tunes, but is intimately seized and pervaded by it, and informs his thoughts and his works from it."

This is very well as far as it goes, but here nothing can go to the bottom, for if it could, humor is so deeply founded in human nature that any definition which reached it would be in danger of coming out on the other side, and proving a luminous concept of pathos. Our author makes a better try in saying of the humorist, "He does not know how to remain long, or will not, in a situation affecting, dramatic or otherwise serious; but he interrupts it brusquely with some unexpected observation that scatters, or, so to speak, disorients the ideas and sensations of the reader, and gives them a new direction." Again he says, beginning a fresh chapter, as he is apt to do with a fresh attempt at analysis, "Humor is truly among the literary kinds that which can be contained in the smallest terms. Nothing is too little; it finds its occasion in everything, even that which is slightest, thinnest, most impalpable, and for this reason it is difficult to analyze it. It lurks, let me say, in a parenthesis, in a comparison; the more modest the form it takes, the more vividly it frees itself and the more piquant it proves."

III.

Signor Bellezza, who is no mean humorist himself, says, as I have noticed, that the ancients, as they used to be called, though they have been growing more and more contemporaneous with us ever since the revival of learning, had no humor, in the modern sense. He refuses to tell why, because it would not be easy, and then he whimsically goes on to give at least one reason. "It is this: the world of the ancients was limited in space, and so by consequence in ideas, in cognitions, in sentiments; proportionately few, therefore, were those contrasts (of concepts and facts) from which humor chiefly springs. And for pity's sake, let me not be accused of irreverence for the ancients in general and their authors in particular. Shall the ancients be offended if it is said of them they did not know the use of tobacco, and were not Alpinists? That here and there," he adds, "you find in the classic writings some little splash, some slight trace, of what we understand by humor is another affair, and no one thinks of disputing it. It is seen, for instance, in that passage of Lucian's

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'Dialogues of the Dead,' which I here give a part of: 'O Menippus, Diogenes exhorts you, if you have not laughed enough at things on earth, to come up here, where you will laugh more yet. There your laughter had always a certain doubt, such a doubt as, 'Who knows what will be after death?' But here you will not cease to laugh with your whole heart as I do now. Above all, you will see the rich, the satraps, the tyrants, so transfigured that they are to be recognized only by their lamentations. . . . And tell the beautiful and the strong that with us there are no longer any blond locks, nor black or blue eyes, nor carnation complexions, nor powerful limbs; but tell them that we are all pumpkin heads, skulls bereft of beauty,' etc."

It seems to me that in this passage alone Signor Bellezza casts his whole theory of the ancients in doubt, and it is curious to note that the grudge against the prosperous and fortunate, which we suppose to have come in with Christianity, was a commonplace of the pagans. As for that other before-mentioned theory of Signor Bellezza's, namely, that the Latin peoples have less humor than the Gothic, what he says in support of it is so interesting that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of reporting it. "Roots less profound, fibres less diffuse, does the plant of humor strike in Latin soil, for the reason, to give only one, of the specific qualities of its people, qualities which are determined in part at least by 'the ambient,' or the external conditions: the mild climate, the sky more smiling and sunny than elsewhere, nature all joyous, inviting to expansive jocundity. Yet if there is lacking in these literatures a true and proper current, or a continuous tradition, of the humorous, they seem, as it were, constellated by a few great writers who in this region have left the profoundest effect. Of Spain it suffices to recall that it is the country of Cervantes, as well as of Quevedo and of Larra," a humorist whom I do not know of; but I should like again to add to Signor Bellezza's list of witnesses against himself those modern Spanish writers whom I love so much. It may be that the large mixture of the Goths with the elder Spaniards brought that rich strain of humor into the Iberian blood, but Signor Bellezza has no opinion on this point. In regard to French humor, he summons enough witnesses, from Rabelais down, to put his reader in doubt again, and when it comes to his own Italians, the misgiving mounts. Is he too modest, or is he only mocking our

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thick Gothic pride in a quality which we sometimes fancy we have the monopoly of? If he had said America was the classic home of humor, we should be less inclined to dispute him, but perhaps he is right, after all, in giving the primacy to England. More than in any other literature, the humorous conception of the universe prevails in the English, and that is the supreme proof of humor. It is suggested in the passage which he quotes from Lucian, concerning that certain doubt of what shall be after death, which lurks in our laughter here, and mutes it on our trembling lips. It is this certain doubt which gives its prevailing cast to English literature more in the mother isle than in our continental condition of it; and it is literature which is the expression of a people's soul. To us belongs the humor that laughs and makes laugh; I believe Mark Twain himself somewhere claims that our humor is the only humor that is funny, and without pushing this claim we can allow that it is funnier than the English. It may even be as wise, and yet at the end of the ends it is not so satisfying; so that one agrees with Signor Bellezza's final judgment when he declares Mark Twain to be the greatest living humorist, but adds: "Yet more than in Mark Twain and in Swift, more than in Addison and in Byron, the prism of humor darts from its thousand facets its varicolored and vivid flashes in him whom the world of letters so long ignored and contemned. . . . 'Wonderful Shakespeare!' exclaims Manzoni, in one of the few apostrophes which enthusiasm ever forced from the incontentable artist, 'wonderful Shakespeare!' . . . And with the names of these two idols of mine let me be allowed to close my haply too long discourse. It will be easy for critics to find defaults and mistakes in it. . . . Be my excuse with them, and with my readers generally, the immensity and the novelty of my theme, and the modest design which led me in treating it to offer nothing more than an attempt or an essay."

IV.

Through his ultimate expression of one's own opinion, Signor Bellezza puts himself so entirely in the right that one has no longer the least wish to find him wrong in anything. For my part, I should no more think of questioning his award of the eternal and universal humorism to Shakespeare than of questioning his verdict with respect to Il Twain, whom it is difficult,

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after once habituating one's self to these Italian terms, to speak of in any others. He is not only the greatest living humorist, but incomparably the greatest, and without a rival since Cervantes and Shakespeare, unless it be that eternal Jew, Heinrich Heine, who of all the humorists is the least like him. Heine's humor is at every moment autobiographical, and for far the greater part Mr. Clemens's humor is so; Shakespeare's alone is impersonal, but this may be on account of the dramatic form, and more apparent than real. Heine and Mark Twain are both archromantic, just as they are both autobiographical, though to what different ends! One is subjectively romantic and personal, the other objectively romantic and personal. Mark Twain expresses in this difference the very essence and inalienable intent of American humor, which is apparently the least conscious and really the least literary of all the forms and phases of humor, while Heine's is the most conscious and the most literary. Is this measurably true of the other German humorists? I am not sure, and I cannot pretend to have the documents for the verification of the point. Of Heine I can more or less honestly speak, but as for the other German humorists, life is short, and art in them at least seems very long. The most wonderful thing in Heine is how he transmutes literature into life, and distills into it the blood and tears of literary anguish. Am I saying that he is a poseur? Perhaps I am saying that, but while he lay there in his mattress-grave in Paris, he mocked and mocked, not less than in his books, or at least when he had an audience; and no doubt the second nature which comes to men from bathing their souls in literature had made itself his first nature. He expressed the supreme humoristic conception of the universe in the cry from that grave:

"O schöne Welt, du bist abscheulich!"

and one's heart aches in pity and one's nerves thrill in awe of the poseur. After all, pain is not a pose, nor death, and there he knew both. In all his books he was at least true to his genius, for, in some light or other, everything that he wrote was humorous.

V.

In the admirable introduction which Signor Gaetano Negri has supplied to our author's work there are some passages which reveal a like, if not an equal, sense of the subject. "The classic

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age," he says, "of this singular manifestation of the human spirit began with Shakespeare, and its importance grew from century to century, until it became the prevalence in ours, above all in the literature of the northern peoples. Humor is a form which could be born only of a highly complex society, traversed by various and opposite currents of thought and feeling, and in which was lost that security of principles and ideals which renders simple and clear the vision of the world. There is in humor a *fond* of skepticism more or less hidden, and a tendency to insistent and painful analysis, which finds in a smile the ultimate expression of the human contradictions."

I know that I am questioning Signor Bellezza's friend rather than himself when I doubt whether our humor did not begin with Chaucer instead of Shakespeare, and it is not at this end of the long line that I should find our essayist of an uncertain hold. It is in his notices of modern English humor that I find his hand lax, and now and then not of a wide grasp. He prefaces each of his chapters with an English motto, taking the first from Mark Twain's reply to M. Bourget, "Well, Humor is the great thing," but by far the greatest number of his instances and allusions are from and to the humor of Dickens. Now, this humor was very well in its way, but it hardly can make us laugh any more, and it was always rather of the nature of the laughter of horses, the play of horses. It was fantastic and willful and forced, and expressed itself in characters which bore much the same resemblance to the human species as the effigies which keep the crows from the cornfields, and in crude communities express the popular indignation with persons of opposite political convictions. He had not a humorous conception of life, which is the great thing rather than humor itself, if Mark Twain, who has it, will allow me to dispute him. Dickens was a great histrionic talent, and produced powerful if simple effects in that sort. But he was not of the fine English humorists who began with Chaucer, or with Shakespeare, as you please, and came down with Swift, and Addison, and Steele, and Sterne, and Goldsmith, and perhaps Scott, and Thackeray, to a humorist who may almost stand with Shakespeare himself. I mean Thomas Hardy, who in his vision of humanity, in his entirely ironical and humorous conception of life is possibly the greatest of all the present English, and I am not forgetting the Scotchman, Mr. William Gilbert. I am remembering that the

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master of the whimsical cannot be the equal of a humorist in whom the sense of the droll is never parted from the sense of the dreadful, any more than it is in Heine, in whom the pathetic prevails, or Mark Twain, in whom the comic prevails. Yet Mr. Gilbert is, next to Mr. Hardy, the chief of those English humorists, after Shakespeare, who make us shake in our proud conviction that the American humorists are supreme. To this pair I should like to add the demure little figure of Jane Austen, which, when you look at it qualitatively, is so gigantic. Certainly, if any one ever had the humorous vision of the world, she had, and if her smile was dry rather than tearful, it was of an exquisite and almost unmatched intelligence.

VI.

Signor Bellezza does not mention Jane Austen with the three women whom he invites to his Valhalla, of whom two, I own, are as unknown to me as she seems to him. The third is hardly unknown to any lover of humor, and in naming and citing George Eliot he recognizes a humorist of the highest type, who failed to blend her qualities to that effect which is the highest type of humor. The face which she turned upon life was one-half tragedy and one-half comedy, and not that composite visage, so inextricably blended that you cannot tell whether it is laughing or crying, and is probably always both laughing and crying. "The humorist," says our author, "so wooes, so desires pain that the most atrocious pang becomes for him a source of satisfaction and delight; he jokes about it; he makes it the argument of pleasantries and epigrams." George Eliot was never quite up to this level; she kept her ambrosia in one cup and her infusion of wormwood in another.

Was she too honest, too kind, too good to mix them? After all, the draught is one that many tender and loving souls turn from with horror, insomuch that it may be gravely doubted whether there is humor in heaven, where there can be no contrast of the ideal and the real, the potential and the actual, which constitutes our life in this world, and which makes us burst into pitying tears, but also into cruel laughter, when we see it.

This doubt once seriously troubled me, but since the rich man began giving so handsomely as he has done, especially in America, there can no longer be the old misgiving as to his final destiny, at

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least in the case of rich Americans, and I do not see why the humorists, who have got so much fun out of him here, should be shut out of his company there. Still I doubt if there will be joking there; and this ought to be some comfort to our English brethren, who are said to find American jokes so hard to understand, at a time when American jokes have become so common.

I am by no means persuaded that all the American jokes are worth understanding, or that the English are quite to blame for not laughing at them; and yet I cannot deny there is a pathos in the hard case of those jokers of ours who bring back their jokes in the original packages, as it were, from England. About this time they will be arriving home by steamer-loads, each with a sorrowful tale of humorous things of theirs that have failed in London. If we are to believe them, they have all moved in the highest English society, but even in those homes of the aristocracy, where Mr. Depew tells us there is such enlightened appreciation of intellectual worth, American humor has fallen dead from their lips with what used to be called a sickening thud. In view of this fact I have sometimes suspected that the American humorists have demanded too much of their English hosts, the nobility and gentry, with whom alone they consort in England. These have naturally not been able to supply the American atmosphere, the background of American experience essential to the appreciation of American humor. At one time our national humor played almost wholly around the difficulties of putting up and taking down that popular family altar, the parlor stove; and how should an Englishman understand it? At other times, our humor came entirely from the frontier, from the ranch and the mining camp, and was rich in the amusing suggestions of holding up travellers, and getting the drop on one's antagonists in barroom controversies, and other situations illustrative of the drollery of gun-play. The very last American joke which I heard of as failing in the best English society was that about the householder who puts his pistol into the face of the burglar at his window, with the brief warning, "You get!" and the burglar answers, "You bet!" When a glad American guest had confidently purveyed this musty chestnut, his mirthful consciousness of our national humor was chilled by the question of his hostess, "And what was the wager?" But she ought really to have had him put out of the house; and I am not sure that the English would not do well

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to exclude American humorists from the society of their better classes.

I understood from something I heard Du Maurier say, twenty years ago, that telling stories at dinner had gone out in England, or was going out. "But Jones still tells stories," a commensal opposed. "Yes," said Du Maurier, "but you always feel as if he were tumbling for his dinner." In this fact, perhaps, we may find the reason of the thing which has mystified so many American jokers in their English experience. Perhaps the English have understood their stories perfectly well, but have not thought them in good taste, and so have not laughed. Or very likely they have jokes enough of their own, and do not care to be loaded up with ours. Perhaps they think we have no humor. Dickens tells us that when he first visited America he suffered from our deadly lack of it.

Certainly the English have humorists enough, and of a quality which it is preposterous for us to question, as we sometimes do, principally, I think, when we are resenting the failure of some common or garden humorist of ours to make them laugh. If they are a nation so dull as this sort of humorist reports, when he gets safely back, they should be the very richest soil for humorists to flourish in. What inexhaustible subjects for humor they must be! Even our defeated jokers find them so, when they report their failures at home, amid roars of sympathetic American laughter. We hug ourselves when we hear how those single-minded islanders have missed the point of our continental jokes; but what if after all, they are not so single-minded? What if they are in a national conspiracy to ignore our humor, and so to discourage our humorists from frequenting their shores?

VII.

The humiliating truth is that we are still not only quantitatively but also qualitatively behind the English in humor, and not only in literary humor, but also in artistic humor. I have named one artistic English humorist—he was, to be sure, a French Belgian on his father's side—who abounded in that sweetness which seems wanting in our comic artists. But Du Maurier was not the only English artist who abounded in sweetness, and whose satire was almost a caress. There was Leech, there was Doyle, there was Keene, each in his way most lovable as

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well as witty. Except Mr. Peter Newell, whose quaintness is full of gentle charm, the only American like them that I can think of is Mr. Oliver Herford, who is an Englishman; the rest of our good fellows have all a biting, rather than a caressing, wit. They are inferior to the Germans as well as the English in their want of sweetness, their want of humanity, one may even call it. You can hardly take up a copy of *Fliegende Blätter*, or *Jugend*, or even *Simplicissimus*, without coming on proof of the fact; a spirit of kindliness pervades not only those little domestic comedies which humorous German art is so rich in, but it tinges the sharpest political satire on which the humorists may venture in conditions where the law of lese-majesty is over-soul. We are the most intensely domesticated people in the world, with the purest and most loving family life; but if you believe our graphic humorists, we are always aiming to make mercenary marriages, when we are not trying for divorces, and our children are of an odiousness for which universal putting to bed would be gross indulgence. These humorists of ours are not nasty as to their minds, in the French way, but they are nasty in their tempers, apparently, or else they render a perfunctory obedience to a supposed ideal in us, when they make things that are banal and brutal and cruel. There is not one of them who embodies in the graphic way anything of the colossal humor, the constant generosity, of Mark Twain. We might suppose they would sometimes let themselves go in the direction of satire on our civilization, which needs it so sadly, but they nibble conventionally round the edges of society, and give us Summer Girls when they are not atrociously mocking the misery that walks our land in the Weary Willies they delight to show in a perennial week's beard and battered hat; or else they draw us impossibly truculent millionaires.

If any of our comic artists has ever really a mind to come to the help of humanity with his pencil he will do well to read Signor Bellezza's chapter on humor in art. It will give him a perspective if it does not supply him a perfect philosophy.

W. D. HOWELLS.

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